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ORIENTAL DICTION AND THEME IN ENGLISH VERSE, 1740-1840

BY

EDNA OSBORNE, A. M.

Fellow-elect in English, The University of Kansas

LAWRENCE, MAY, 1916

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PREFACE

The writer's interest in Orientalism in English literature began at the University of Illinois in 1911, when Professor H. G. Paul, in a lecture on the Romantic poets, emphasized Byron's Oriental coloring and suggested that its study would make a good thesis. A little later this interest took form in a master's thesis on *The Orientalism of Byron*, which was accepted by the English Department of the University of Kansas in 1914. This preliminary study opened up a field which seemed boundless, and which offered very attractive appeals to the student of foreign influences on English literature.

One does not need to be acquainted with Oriental languages or Oriental literature to trace with some profit the effects of Oriental interests on English verse and prose. It has been impossible to examine all the English verse from 1740 to 1840; but the chief poets have been reviewed with a good deal of care, and many of the minor ones. The Oriental drama offers a field by itself, and only a few dramas have been included in the present survey. It is hoped that all the main characteristics of Oriental diction and theme in the period have been recognized and given some attention in this paper. There has been no effort at a microscopic examination, at inclusion of every possible poet, passage, or term. It is hoped and presumed that such values as the present study yields will prove sound in and for themselves.

The writer wishes to thank Dr. C. G. Dunlap, Head of the English Department, and Miss Carrie Watson, University Librarian, and her assistants for courtesies extended; and also Dr. E. D. Cressman, of the Latin Department, for assistance in matters relating directly to Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit. To Professor S. L. Whitcomb, the editor of this series of Studies, the writer is especially grateful for constant assistance during the past year —assistance as generous as it was helpful. Without it this paper could hardly have been brought to completion at the present time.

EDNA OSBORNE.

The University of Kansas,
June 28, 1916.

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Oriental Diction and Theme in English Verse, 1740-1840

CHAPTER I

Introduction: Orientalism in English Verse

This study aims to present within brief compass the general character of the Oriental diction and the Oriental theme in English verse between 1740 and 1840.

Every noteworthy fashion, manner, or school in the history of English poetry has a vocabulary and a phrasing that are characteristic and reveal something of the spirit beyond the words. Pastoralism is not merely a matter of certain themes and certain moods, but, almost of necessity, of certain verbal tendencies. One who reviews the Oriental poetry of England for the century after the publication of Collin's *Eclogues* soon becomes familiar with a characteristic diction and its relation to mental and moral states. In some Oriental poems there is little Oriental quality in the diction; the Orientalism may be confined chiefly to the setting, to a character or characters, or to a general theme. On the other hand, there are passages and poems whose exotic character is mainly in the language. The ideal poem is one which expresses Eastern life or Eastern feeling in Orientalized diction.

In the present study, the term "Orientalism" is somewhat broadly interpreted. It includes, first, the presentation of life in the Orient and of Oriental objects, ideas, or persons in the West; second, the treatment of any theme in a style Oriental or supposed to be Oriental. The first interpretation covers the Englishman in India as well as the native, and the gypsy and the elephant in England as well as in their original homes. The second type of Orientalism would, in a lax application of the idea, be found in all poems of a peculiarly rich, luxurious, and figurative fancy and

decorative style. This second conception, however, is too vague to furnish a safe guidance in such a study as this. There is too much in common between Orientalism so interpreted and the neo-Italianate manner so much in vogue during the latter part of our period. The emphasis must be laid upon the first interpretation, which is logically more distinct and historically more tangible.

"The Orient" in this paper includes not only all of Asia and all of Africa, with the neighboring islands, but Russia, Poland, Lapland, Zembla, Bohemia, Turkey in Europe, and some of the Balkan states. Literary criticism usually recognizes a certain Asiatic element in Russian literature, and the racial character or the political history of the other countries mentioned allies them, to a certain degree at least, with the Orient. Mohammedan Africa is certainly Oriental so far as the English poets of our period are concerned. Partly as a manner of convenience and partly in recognition of the poetic treatment it receives—often very similar in general tone to that given to Arabia or Persia—all the rest of the continent may be included. Even the negro in America may appear and does sometimes appear as a genuine Oriental subject. Spain in itself does not belong to the world of Eastern poetry, but many of the poems of the period dealing with Spain are concerned largely with the Moors or with the relations of the Spaniard to the Moor.

Martha Pike Conant has faced the problem of separating the Hebraic element from the Oriental for critical purposes.[1] The distinction often seems somewhat arbitrary. One remembers Carlyle's interpretation of the Book of Job—Biblical at least if not fully Hebraic—in the "Hero as Prophet". The King James version of the Bible contains many words which belong to the Oriental vocabulary of English poetry.[2] Furthermore, our poets often take a character, a subject, or a situation from the Bible and elaborate and expand it in Oriental instead of strictly Biblical fashion. It seems sound criticism to call Byron's *Destruction of Sennacherib* an Oriental poem though it is one of the *Hebrew Melodies*; Wells' *Joseph and His Brethren* has passages of marked Oriental quality. In *The Christian Year* there are a few poems,

1. *The Oriental Tale in England*, p. XVI.
2. See *Appendix*, II, C.

theoretically on Biblical subjects, decidedly akin to the general Oriental tone of the period.

A conception of Oriental diction may be based on that of Orientalism as just given. Not all words of Oriental derivation, however, belong to the poetical vocabulary. "Algebra", "zero", and other scientific terms from the Orient do not belong to English Oriental style. "Check", though derived from the Persian, is surely less akin to the Oriental vocabulary of English poetry than "glittering", which happens to be of Scandinavian origin. Such are the complications in the relations of language and feeling in English Orientalism. Much of the general subject belongs to the philologist, rather than to the historian of style.

So little has been done in the field of Orientalism in English verse, that a brief historical survey may not be amiss.

There is no Orientalism in *Beowulf*; but it is a long path from *Beowulf* to Kipling. Prior to Chaucer, in the verse romances and in the medieval drama, many terms of Oriental place and person are introduced. Mohammedanism, the Crusades, and pilgrimage to the Holy Land are favorite topics. Herod, in the Coventry *Shearmen and Taylors*, declares that the "whole Orent ys under myn obbeydeance". He swears several times "Be Mahownd", and compares his own "triumphant fame" to that of "most myght Mahownd". In the same play there is what might by courtesy be called a brief Oriental passage. The angel is sent to the—

> "Kyng of Tawrus, Sir Jespar,
> Kyng of Arraby, Sir Balthasar,
> Melchor, Kyng of Aginare."

In the *Play of the Sacrament*, the merchant has traveled quite extensively in the Orient, as has Jonathan the Jew. The real business of the latter is to be converted by a miracle. Before conversion, he prays to "Almighty Machomet", and thanks him for his gifts. The list of these treasures resembles many an Oriental passage in later poetry, and includes "gold, silver, and precious stones"—amethysts, emeralds, sapphires, rubies, pearls, etc.; spices "both great and small"—ginger, licorice, pomegranate, pepper, cloves; and other Eastern products—rice, almonds, dates, and figs.

There are no strictly Oriental poems in Chaucer, unless we con-

sider the *Man of Law's Tale* and the *Prioress's Tale* as such. Chaucer, however, mentions a number of Oriental countries and products, and he speaks of Eastern idols, magic, and sorcery. His Oriental diction is distinct, if not very extensive, including such words as carbuncle, crystal, date-tree, figs, nutmegs, peacock, ruby, spicery, etc. In both Chaucer and *The Pearl* there is reference to the "Fenyx of Arraby". The third and fourth lines of this poem are:

> "Oute of Oryent, I hardyly saye,
> Ne proued I neuer her precios pere."

The Fall of Constantinople in 1453 probably had some effect on the English interest in the Orient, as well as on the general progress of humanism in Europe. The relation of Spain to England in the Tudor period has been ably considered by Dr. Underhill.[3] No great body of Orientalized English verse, however, resulted from these influences. Yet from Surrey to Milton, that is in the Elizabethan period in the broadest possible interpretation, Orientalism in diction and theme is a richer and more varied subject than in earlier English literature.

The early English secular drama shows many traces of Oriental influence, though few or no plays strictly Oriental. *Cambises* may perhaps be called the first Oriental drama in England, though aside from its setting and, in diction, a few proper names, it has little Eastern quality. The word "elephant" is about all to represent Oriental diction in *Roister Doister*. In *Gorboduc*, the theme of English descent from a Trojan is of course really classical, in source and significance. In *The Foure PP*, the pardoner has on exhibition an "eye-toth of the Great Turke", the palmer has of course been in the Holy Land, and the apothecary's store includes a few Eastern drugs, one being "cassy"—said to be the oldest drug known to medicine.

The Orientalism in Shakespeare is somwhat diffuse or uncertain in tone. Oberon is from "the farthest steppe of India," and there are many brief references here and there to the Turks, Ethiopians, Tartars, the Nile, etc. The Moor appears in *Titus Andronicus* as well as in *Othello*.

Antony and Cleopatra has not only an Oriental setting, but, in

3. *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors.*

spite of its general Roman character as a play, passages of true Eastern character. In *David and Bethsabe* and in *Campaspe* the coloring in part is clearly of the Oriental type. But it is in *Tamburlaine* that we find a true and extensive treatment of Oriental themes expressed in Oriental diction; so far, at least, as certain motifs—luxury, tyranny, excess—are concerned. In this play is much that suggests the general character of the later Oriental drama in England.

Surrey's *Sardanapalus* is a good early example of an English subject Orientalized; and is an introduction to an Eastern character destined to receive more extended consideration in English poetry. Several pages at least could be given to the Oriental element in Spenser. It is rich in diction and fairly so in theme; but is nowhere concentrated into an Oriental poem or extended passage. An examination of Dr. Bradshaw's *Concordance* shows a liberal use of Oriental diction in Milton. Professor Beers quotes a number of phrases from Milton to prove that he "had more of the East in his imagination than any of his successors".[4]

Before the publication of *Paradise Lost*, the *Siege of Rhodes* and the first work of Waller had appeared, and English poetry was treading the path toward pseudo-classicism. The *Siege of Rhodes* is the forerunner of a long line of plays set in the Orient and having at least some Eastern characters and some Eastern language, if little of true Oriental coloring. Many of the scenes in the heroic tragedies are laid in Asia, Africa, or the Mohammedan regions of Europe. This was an easy task, as it was to include a considerable number of names for the characters smacking at least of something non-English. A few striking foreign customs or objects—such as the Chinese Wall—were also easy of access; but few playwrights attempted to escape entirely their home training and mode of thought. "Fancy you have two hours in Turkey been", directs the epilogue of *The Conspiracy*. Through *The Mourning Bride* and *The Siege of Damascus* this type of drama flourishes, till in *Zara* it almost reaches the opening of our period, and in Miller's *Mahomet* actually passes into the period.

Waller's Orientalism consists mainly of a number of poems dealing with the political and military activity of the Turks, and of a sprinkling of such Oriental terms as Moor, Persian, Soldan,

4. *History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 45.

Bassa, the East, and such conventional phrases as Cross and Crescent, Arabia's spices, Afric's shore, "from India to the frozen north", etc. In Pope we have the same general tradition, more liberally represented however. Dr. H. S. Canby has written a paper on *Congreve as a Romanticist*.[5] A study could be made of the pseudo-Oriental element in Pope, but that phase of his work, like some others, lies mainly on the surface. Lines 93-118 in *The Temple of Fame* might be considered an Oriental passage; and here and there in his verse there is the use of Oriental diction for effects of glittering sensuous richness.

All studies of English verse between 1740 and 1840 must recognize the gradual waning of the pseudo-classical taste and the gradual triumph of its successors—by whatever name we call them. Orientalism, as a stylistic manner of English poetry, is either pseudo-classical or romantic. It, like pastoralism, made its appeal to the old-fashioned among the English poets, and to the innovators, when they arrived on the scene. The history of English poetry proves that the Orient was capable of making a deeper, more emotional or more imaginative effect on English poets than it made on Waller or Pope. The present study should indicate, without a strenuous effort, the shifting of values between the middle of the Eighteenth Century and the opening of the Victorian Era. The old died hard. There are traces of the conventional early Eighteenth Century manner even in Shelley and Keats; even in Coleridge and Wordsworth.

The exact date with which our period opens is chosen as a matter of convenience. There is of course no absolute break in the continuity of English Orientalism between *The Fair Circassian* (1720) and Lady Montagu's residence in Turkey (1718) and the poems of Sir William Jones. Already in Croxall we have a conscious use of Orientalism in opposition to the "dry and insipid stuff" of the pseudo-classicists. His phrase "a whole piece of rich glowing scarlet" sounds very much like Jones and some of the other later Orientalists.[6] These items of chronology may, however, be worth noting:

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5. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*. New Series, Vol. XXIV; I, pp. 1-23.

6. For the significance of Croxall, see Gosse, p. 138; Phelps, p. 30, and Beers, *Eighteenth Century*, p. 84.

1742. Collins: *Persian Eclogues.*
1744. The death of Pope.
1746. The birth of Sir William Jones.
1763. Lady Montagu's Letters published.

At the close of our period we are at the threshold of the Victorian period. This study includes the work of a number of poets who lived and wrote after 1840; but is concerned only with their earlier verse. It omits Tennyson, Browning, and Bulwer Lytton, as on the whole to be considered Victorians. There are probably no new Oriental "notes", of importance, so far as poetry is concerned, between Byron and *Sohrab and Rustum* (1853).

The pseudo-classical phases of Oriental verse are essentially the same from Pope to Byron. These include the practical, didactic treatment of Eastern life; the satirical manner, and especially a purely literary, stylistic interest—imitative, and characterized by conventional ideas and diction which present few signs of imaginative and emotional processes. The satirical manner of Byron is not notably different from that of Butler or Pope; the didacticism of Southey, at its worst, resembles that of Young or Johnson; Mangan's fiction of translation from Oriental sources follows the model of Collins. Crabbe's heroic couplets, in his Oriental passages as elsewhere, are not suggestive of any great renovation in English versification. If Byron wrote from personal observation in the Orient, so did Lady Montagu. Moore was far less of an Orientalist than Sir William Jones, though the former embodied more of his knowledge of the East in verse than did the latter. In the Oriental verse of both Moore and Southey, the reader feels a certain artificiality, a striving for effect, as in much of the work of the Augustans. In both poets the results of carefully selected themes, of extended literary preparation, of laborious composition, are all too much in evidence.

Yet much in the Orientalism of our period is allied with the new spirit. As a phase of the Romantic Movement, Orientalism developed, no doubt by more faltering stages, and with less extensive results, side by side with the new Gothic and Celtic tastes, and in association with sentimentalism, with the humanitarian and revolutionary spirit. It has far less kinship with the "return to nature", as Romanticism understood it, or with that medievalism which Professor Beers chooses to select as the central conception in his studies of English Romanticism. Above all, in its deepest

poetic significance, Orientalism represents that craving for free range of the imagination, that craving to escape the local, the practical, the "regular", that at times almost terrible appetite for the unknown and the limitless, which Paul Elmer More rebukes so firmly in his *Drift of Romanticism*. The hostility of the classicist to Oriental art itself is apparent in such a critic as John Foster, loving the simple.[7] Of the general strangeness of the Orient to the English mind, of the general ignorance of that mind as to Eastern life—except its picturesque surface—there are many records in English prose during the latter part of our period. It was, in part, just this strangeness, just this sense of the unknown and the unmeasured, that attracted many of the poets. To some of them, as Orientalists, one might venture to apply an expression in one of Keble's lyrics—

> "Thy tranced yet open gaze
> Fixed on the desert haze."[8]

In our period the word "Gothic" (often capitalized) occurs with more frequency than "Oriental". So far as simple phrases go, the relation of the two tastes is rather neatly indicated by these citations. Lloyd places in an English garden a 'temple, Gothic or Chinese'. Armstrong actually carries the Germanic word into the regions of the East. He writes that the "cheerless Tanais" flows through a "Gothic solitude".[9] Both the Orient and the Gothic North were adapted to produce certain emotional or sensational effects of remoteness and wildness; both were rich in the evidences of the decay of human achievements. The ruins of the temples of the East and of the castles of the North were both ruins; both registered the frailty of the conventional pride and purpose of man. Both, under easy conditions, could satisfy the romantic craving for silence and solitude.

As to the Celtic taste, only the lighter element in Eastern mythology harmonized with it. But this lighter element was present—in the peris and houris, in the milder characters among the genii. The more grim elements could be neglected at the will of the poet. Something of that charming wilfulness of feminine nature, of that irresponsible caprice and sudden change in narra-

7. See his review of *Oriental Scenery;* and his other essays listed in the *Appendix*, I, C, 2.
8. *The Christian Year; Second Sunday after Easter.*
9. *The Art of Preserving Health*: II, ll. 364-5.

tion, of that delicate charm in lyric expression which are associated with Celtic genius, are found at times in English Oriental verse. This may be said without reference to the possible remote historical kinship of Celtic and Oriental poetry.

As to Occidentalism, the following pages will note more than one connection of this interest—comparatively new in the Romantic period, and given large attention—with the taste for matters Eastward. Many a poet's fancy travelled indifferently, in the phrase of Keats, "Or in Orient or in West". Both regions were generously open to fresh, untrammelled poetic treatment. Both gave abundant opportunity to introduce novel words, strange stories, and characters far more nearly 'elemental men' than the average residents of London. Burns actually bade farewell to his friends, ready for Jamaica, but he also wrote one poem imagining himself in India. Moore, Campbell, Mrs. Hemans, and many other poets wrote at some length on both East and West. With both regions, as time passed, the practical relations of England became so pressing, the information of Englishmen became so much larger concerning both, that it became difficult to summon the old motifs of the wild and intangible. Today it would be almost impossible for an English poet to dream in the early Nineteenth Century romantic manner of the St. Lawrence and the American 'Forest Sanctuary'; almost impossible, probably, to think of the Ganges and the Euphrates as streams of fancy unfettered by prosaic facts.

Sentimentalism may perhaps lurk in Arabian and Persian poetry. However that may be, the English sentimental taste—not destroyed by any number of parodies, or by resolute opponents among the playwrights—found something to satisfy it in Orientalized verse. Persia and even Africa became pastoral countries, companions if not rivals of Sicily and Arcadia. Sentimentality is one of the varied notes in Sir William Jones himself. If "earth's melancholy map" lay open to the sombre imagination of Edward Young, Mrs. Hemans found it possible to carry the sentiments of a sensitive nature into many of the remote regions of the globe, including the East. There are many sentimental passages in *The Bride of Abydos* as well as in *Lalla Rookh*. Long before these works were published Collins had written, in the preface of the first edition of the *Eclogues*, that "our geniuses are as much too cold for the enter-

tainment of such [Eastern] sentiments, as our climate is for their fruits and spices".

Perhaps the deepest interpretation of the Orient, in the verse of our period, was made by English poets moved by the varying humanitarian, reform, and revolutionary interests of the day. There are a host of poems on African slavery written, most of them, from the point of view of the social reformer. The contemplation of the tyrannies of the East aroused vigorous protest; the enslavement of Eastern peoples to cruel or superstitious customs and creeds—such at least to English thought—called forth severe criticism, and praises of the mission of England in the East, in politics and religion. The dominion of the proud Turk in Greece, while it cost the life of only one English poet, excited poetical protests from many pens. In *Lalla Rookh* even, the struggle for liberty is one of the themes, and Smollett looked with admiration upon the Arabs and the Tartars as peoples conspicuous for their love of freedom. Though the "brotherhood of man", in a Twentieth Century sense, is hardly in evidence, many of the English poets spoke against tyranny in any form, and showed at least poetic sympathy with the oppressed sons of man, in the East as well as in the West. In the decline of great Eastern tyrannies, they often found a direct lesson for Europe. *Ozymandias* has its sermon. The Orient is more than once called as a witness against French pride. Shakespeare and Marlowe felt a certain enthusiasm for the tyrant, provided he was sufficiently great and successful in his tyranny; but the times changed—after the English poets had known Napoleon.

After our period, many of the traditions of Orientalism are carried on with little essential change into the Victorian and post-Victorian eras. Different poets continued to express different phases of this large subject.

Mathew Arnold felt the fatalism of the East. This conception, together with local color which he obtained from Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia*, he wove into *Sohrab and Rustum*. But Southey also dealt with the fatalistic element in the thought of the East. Edwin Arnold gave sympathetic interpretation of the religions of the Orient in *The Light of the World* and *The Light of Asia*—though, perhaps, in no more scholarly manner than Sir William Jones. It might be interesting to compare the diction and the themes in two such different poems as *Sohrab and Rustum*

and *The Light of Asia*. In general tone the latter bears some resemblance to the Oriental poetry of Emerson and not a little to that of Southey. Elaborate and modern as it is, it can hardly be said to mark a new departure in the same degree as do the poems of Browning and Kipling. *Sohrab and Rustum* is one of the noblest Oriental poems in English literature. The central theme, certainly, is not peculiar to the Orient, nor are the mental and moral tones of the poem. The spirit of the poem is largely Greek. *Sohrab and Rustum* is one example of that mingling of varied and even opposing styles which is so characteristic of English poetry. The settings of the poem, however, general and specific, are Eastern; the Oriental diction is adequate and of memorable quality. In beauty and depth this poem is superior to most English Oriental poems, earlier or later.

Browning brings into Oriental poetry a more manly humanity, a more generous, deeper morality than most of his English fellow poets. Miss Conant has discussed the moral tale of the Eighteenth Century and all students know the didactic emphasis of that period; but Browning's didacticism, as well as his optimism, belongs to himself alone. He was much interested, along with other masters, in the ethics, the wisdom, the mysticism, the religion, and the hot-headed emotions of the Oriental peoples. These themes and others he expressed with dramatic force and with his usual psychological insight in many poems—*Ferishtah's Fancies*, *Ben Karshook's Wisdom*, *The Epistle of Karshish*, *Rabbi ben Ezra*, *A Death in the Desert*, *Luria*, *The Return of the Druses*, *Solomon and Balkis*, *Through the Metidja*, and others. In *Muleykeh* the vigor of such phrases as "the thunderous heels" and "Buheyseh is mad with hope" are in striking contrast with the languorous tone of much Eighteenth Century Oriental verse. The Russian element, in whatsoever form, rarely appears in the verse of the English Romantic Movement. *Ivan Ivanovitch* is one of the first important embodiments of an interest which develops through the remainder of the Nineteenth Century and into the Twentieth. *Clive* is almost an authority on its subject.

Tennyson's Orientalism is considerable, but it is less forceful and less original than that of Browning. It is mainly, if not entirely, in the Romantic manner. Tennyson reveals a love of Eastern story inherited from his boyhood reading and a mature Englishman's interest in the relations of the Orient to his own country.

In his *Recollections of the Arabian Nights*, he has chosen a theme found in several poets of our period. In the *Defense of Lucknow*, *Montenegro*, and other poems, he treats that military struggle between the East and the West which, in other forms, was an important subject in *The Siege of Rhodes*, in Hoole's translation of *Jerusalem Delivered*, and in many a lesser poem of our period. *The Cup* is his nearest approach to an Oriental drama. In *Akbar's Dream* Tennyson shows less of the mystical and phantasmagoric quality associated with the Orient than appears in *Kubla Khan;* more of the ethical.

Fitzgerald is, of course, a figure of great importance in a sketch of English Oriental verse. The first edition of his *Rubaiyat* appeared in 1859, the second in 1872, and the third in 1879. The neatness and comparative independence of the single quatrain, the concise and exotic imagery, the love of happiness and the half-worldly, half-mystical philosophy have given the work a wide and an enduring popularity. Omar's denunciation of the inexorable fate which dooms to slow decay or sudden oblivion all that is charming and beautiful in this world resembles the lament of many a poet of the Romantic Movement. Much of the Oriental diction in Fitzgerald is similiar to that in English verse prior to 1840. The naturalism of the *Rubaiyat* is of a somewhat different type from that appearing in the Oriental verse of Byron, Southey, or any of their contemporaries.

In Kipling, it would be no more difficult to find some of the old Oriental motifs and language than it would be to trace the English ballad traditions in his form and subjects. The Englishman in India is not a new theme, nor is that of the heat in the East. What affects us in Kipling is the large number of his Oriental poems, his extensive realistic and dialectic vocabulary, and the general realism, modernism, and anti-academic quality of his work. Though he sounds more loudly than his predecessors the note of imperialism, it is far from being an absolutely new note in English poetry. Yet Kipling, on the whole, is new. Sir William Jones was a scholar; he knew East Indian life in ways unknown to Kipling; but he could not have expressed the tragic shiver and the mournful music of Oriental experience in *Danny Deever* and *Gunga Din*, or the humor and irony in such poems as *Fuzzy-Wuzzy* and *Oonts*. The *Dove of Dacca* relates an old Bengal legend, not in the scholarly manner of Sir William Jones or the erudite manner of Southey, but with

a touch of Moore's sentimentalism, *Route Marchin'* and many other poems are in Kipling's own style,

The further story of Orientalism in English verse from 1840 to the present time is a long one, which cannot even be outlined here. It includes many poets, many themes, many moods. James Thomson, like Byron and Crabbe and Wordsworth in our period, like Tennyson, was influenced by his early reading of *Arabian Nights*. His *City of the Dreadful Night* in some respects suggests the Oriental poems of Southey. Rossetti reverts to the theme of ruined grandeur in his stately *Burden of Nineveh*. Charles Mackay, a somewhat voluminious poet probably little read in this country, tells a legend of Australia in *The Lump of Gold*, and embodies the mysticism of the Orient proper in *The Prayer of the Priest of Isis*. He joins his voice to that chorus of singers for liberty which is prominent in the period of our study. He writes of the abolition of slavery, and in *The Brotherhood of Nations* records of words breathing the spirit of international comradeship—

> "From the cold Norland to the sunny South—
> From East to West, they warmed the heart of man."

Sydney Dobell enters the field of Orientalism in *Czar Nicholas* and *A Musing on a Victory*. Andrew Lang unites the traditional theme of the golden East, the tradition of Ophir, with the modern exploitation of the wealth of Africa in his *Zimbabwe*. Edmund Gosse—cosmopolitan in his verse as in his criticism—goes back to the Persian sources in his rather long poem on *Firdausi in Exile*. The deeper note in much recent Oriental verse, in contrast with much of that examined for this study, may be seen by a comparison of Mathilde Blind's sonnet on *Nirvana* with the brief fragment on that theme in Miss Baillie's *Bride*.[10]

In *The Madras House* of Granville Barker we have a drama partially Orientalized, with a view of Mohammedanism in striking contrast with that in medieval English, Elizabethan, or Eighteenth Century tragedies.

Orientalism in American literature has a somewhat different tendency at present from that in English literature; owing in part to our greater distance from Turkey and Persia eastward, and our

10. Act I, close of Scene 2.

much closer neighborhood to China and Japan westward. In the early periods of American literature the conventional themes and diction of English Orientalism, like most conventions of English literature, are in evidence. Even in Emerson, one finds the old phrases—the "mummied East", "Africa's torrid plains", the "grave divan"; and his Oriental vocabulary includes many words worn by time—"Giaours", "caravan", "Allah", "dervish", "crocodile", "siroc", and many others. Yet in Emerson there is much language more fresh than these citations indicate; as well as an unusual appreciation of the mysticism of the East,—not a mere matter of literary fashion, but rooted in the nature of his imaginative and religious life. His Oriental poems include *The Romany Girl*, the *Bohemian Hymn*, *Brahma*, (parodied by Andrew Lang in a poem of the same name), *Saadi*, several of the *Quatrains* and most of the *Translations*. The recent cult of Eastern religions, and the vogue of Tagore may be barely mentioned.

The relations of America to the Orient based on the War of 1898, on the large number of Orientals in this country, and on our present commercial and diplomatic problems, have been more or less distinctly recorded in verse or imaginative prose. Such dramatic pieces as *Madame Butterfly* and *The Bird of Paradise* may perhaps be insignificant as literature, but they are nevertheless poetic renderings of the modern relations of the East and the West. The contrast in ethical and emotional nature between the soul of Eastern peoples and the soul of Western peoples appears in both these plays. It is an old theme, prominent in the verse and prose of England a century ago; but here showing new forms under new conditions. In *Omar the Tentmaker*, the playwright gives careful attention to Eastern coloring in the characterization, in the diction, and especially in the stage settings. By weaving into the text some of the lines of Fitzgerald, the author helps to bind together the American Orientalism of today with the English Orientalism of the early Victorian period, and so with an interest which may be traced back to Chaucer himself.

What the effect of the present world crisis may be on this special phase of English poetry, one does not venture to prophesy. One sees today new and startling intermingling of Eastern and Western life—and death. In the era soon to be, who can tell what new themes, what undreamed inspirations of hope or what terrifying despair may come to English poets out of the East?

CHAPTER II

Oriental Vocabulary

Between 1740 and 1840 extensive additions were made to the English poetic vocabulary. Some critics have considered the enriching of language in England and on the continent as one of the most important results of the Romantic Movement. English poets enlarged the scope of their diction by a revival of medieval and Elizabethan terms, and they also went abroad into fairly fresh fields. They found new words as well as new ideas and new images from Celtic, Scandinavian, Occidental, and Oriental sources. The fresh Celtic vocabulary is familiar in Burns, Macpherson, Collins, and other poets. A striking Scandinavian diction is found in Motherwell,[11] as well as in his more famous predecessor, Gray. Among the poets who introduced geographical or cultural terms, new to many of their readers, from the New World are Bowles, Grainger, Mrs. Hemans, Thomas Moore, James Montgomery, and Southey. Not rarely a poet resorts to two or more of these sources. Mrs. Hemans writes *The Forest Sanctuary*, as well as *The Caravan in the Desert*; the Oriental diction of *Lalla Rookh* accompanies diction drawn from Moore's travel in Canada and the States; Southey wrote *A Tale of Paraguay* as well as *The Curse of Kehama*.

In poem after poem of the period these exotic words are of such character as to require, or at least receive, explanation in footnotes; sometimes in glossary. The poets did not assume that their readers would be familiar with "bigging", "kraken", "pixie", "quaigh", "Torngarsuck", or "sea-grape"; nor with "dallim", "kellas", and "Swerga". The scenes of Bowles' *Missionary* are in South America, and the author explains quite a number of words used in the text, including, Almagro, Chillan, chrysomel, cogul, Guecubu, ichella, opossum, Ulmen, and sea-blossom.

During our period some few poems Oriental entirely or in part

11. See his *Battle-Flag of Sigurd, Wooing Song of Jarl Egill Skallagrim*, and other poems. Note also the two *Danish Odes* "attributed" to John Logan.

were written in Greek or in Latin. Probably the best examples of the Oriental poem in Greek are Praed's *Pyramides Ægyptiacae* and *In Obitum . . . . Thomæ Fanshawe Middleton.* It is interesting to note that the latter poem is indebted to *The Curse of Kehama*, and that it presents the theme of the suttee among other Oriental subjects. Among the distinctly Oriental lines of *In Obitum* are,

"*Ναμάτων πάτερ, Βαθύπλουτε Γάγγα*",

"*ἁ λυγρὰ Παδάλωνος αὐλά*",

and,

"*Φεῦ Νεαλλίνα· χλωερὸν γὰρ ἄνθος.*"

Sir William Jones wrote a number of Oriental poems in Latin. From his *Elegia Arabica* one may select these lines as examples of the Eastern tone or theme in the academic tongue:

"An roseas nudat Leila pudica genas?"

. . . . . .

"Nardus an Hageri, an spirant violaria Meccae,
Candida odoriferis an venit Azza comis?"

There are Oriental passages of somewhat didactic quality in Johnson's *Septem Ætates* and in Browne's *De Animi Immortalitate.* In the first poem is this line:

"Imperium qua Turca ferox exercet iniquum;"

and in the second poem this:

"Aspice quas Ganges interluit Indicus oras."

The English form of certain geographical words is identical with the Latin form, as, for example, in the case of Africa, Byzantium, Euphrates, Libya, and Tigris. Occasionally the Latin form is used in place of the English, for poetical or metrical purposes. "Nilus" is a common substitute for "Nile".

The extent of the English Oriental vocabulary proper will of course depend on the definition of "Oriental". Words derived directly or indirectly from Oriental tongues would probably number several hundred. Other words, of whatever linguistic origin, are naturally and habitually associated with the East. Then follows a third class of words, large and indeterminate, borrowed from the general vocabulary to express such Oriental motifs as luxury, remoteness, etc. A complete study of Oriental style would

consider words of this third class as worthy of close attention, though it is somewhat difficult to reduce them to law and order.

There are practically no words in the verse of our period appearing in the characters of Oriental alphabets.[12] The nearest approach to true Eastern word-form is found in transliteration. In the verse of Jones there are several hundred transliterations, largely proper names, of which only a few have even yet found assured place in the standard English dictionaries.[13] After Jones had established the method in English verse (for in some sense he may be said to have introduced it), it was followed by later Oriental poets, such as John Scott, Byron, Southey, and Mangan. In the following twenty lines from Jones' *Enchanted Fruit*, there are thirteen examples of transliteration; "nargal" ("narghile") being the only word among them found in the *New International Dictionary* of 1910.

"Here marked we purest basons fraught
With sacred cream and famed joghrat;
Nor saw we not rich bowls contain
The chawla's light nutritious grain,
Some virgin-like in native pride,
And some with strong haldea dyed;
Some tasteful to dull palates made
If merich lend his fervent aid,
Or langa shaped like od'rous nails,
Whose scent o'er groves of spice prevails,
Or adda breathing gentle heat,
Or joutery both warm and sweet.
Supiary next (in pana chewed,
And catha with strong powers endued,
Mixed with elachy's glowing seeds,
Which some remoter climate breeds,)
Near jeifel sate, like jeifel framed,
Though not for equal fragrance named:
Last, nargal whom all ranks esteem,
Poured in full cups his dulcet stream."

A partial list of English words of Oriental derivation is given in the *Appendix*.[14] It is clear that many of these do not belong to the poetic vocabulary. Others are of rare occurence in the verse of our period. Of those that remain, some are very Oriental in

12. Byrom introduces words in Hebrew characters (in *Epistle III to the Rev. Mr. L—.*), a practice, it will be remembered, of which Browning was rather fond.
13. See the *Appendix*, II, A.
14. See II, B.

suggestive value, while some are of rather indifferent quality in this respect. The following table arranges according to source a few of the words of genuine Oriental import which are in more or less common use in the verse of our period. (In a few examples the derivation is problematic.)

Arabic: alcove—amber—atabal—caliph—fakir—gazelle—giraffe—harem—houri—Koran—Mohammedan—minaret—monsoon—Moslem—mosque—muezzin—mufti—nabob—saffron—Saracen—sheik—simoom—sirocco—sultan—tamarind—vizier.

Avestan: paradise.

Egyptian: gum.

Malay: bamboo—lory—proa.

"Oriental": peacock.

Persian: attar—azure—bazaar—caravan—caravansary—dervish—divan—firman—jackal—jasmine—khan—lemon—lilac—Magi—Mogul—musk—orange—pagoda—peri—saraband—scarlet—scimitar—shah—tiger.

Russian: Cossack.

Sanskrit: avatar—banyan—beryl—Brahman—camphor—champac—crimson—jungle—rajah—rice—sandal-wood—Veda.

Tatar: horde.

Turkish: coffee—dey—giaour—Janizary—kiosk—pasha—tulip—turban.

The list in the *Appendix* shows a remarkable preponderance of nouns over the other parts of speech. This fact is of interest from the poetic as well as the linguistic point of view. Only two verbs are given—"chouse" and "garble"—, neither of any poetic value. The words which may be considered pure adjectives are only five: azure, crimson, saccharine, Sanskrit, and scarlet. Words which by the average reader are probably conceived as having some adjective quality are more numerous:— bamboo, Bedouin, brilliant, calico, gamboge, Moslem, Mohammedan, mammoth, orange, Ottoman, rattan, saffron, shagreen, silk, and Tartar. There remain some two hundred and thirty nouns. It is clear that Eng-

lish Oriental verse must depend on words from non-Oriental sources for its rapid narration, its analysis of psychic process—or else omit such matters altogether.

A brief note on words of Hebrew derivation may not be amiss. Skeat gives a list of about eighty-five such words, a list which is somewhat altered by the *New International*. Some of these words belong, in the verse of our period, quite as much to the Oriental vocabulary as to the Biblical in a narrow sense. Among them may be named, balm, balsam, camel, cassia, cinnamon, ebony, elephant, hyssop, sapphire, and teraphim.[15] There are many other words in the King James version of the Bible, of various derivation, which belong to the Oriental vocabulary.[16]

Our Oriental poets paid considerable attention to propriety in their diction. Byron distinguishes the Italian form of "giaour" from the more Eastern form. Montgomery accompanies the phrase "medzin's cry" with a footnote explaining that the proper form of the word is "muedhin". Yet the ideal of embodying Oriental theme in purely Oriental language was at times curiously neglected, and at all times except for brief passages practically impossible. One does not find "cromlech" or "Woden" introduced into an Oriental context; but there are a number of references to a "glen" in *Lalla Rookh*, and to Bowles the Tartar society is composed of "clans". "Glittering" and other words from the same Scandinavian root are of frequent service in Jones and his followers. The term "pastoral" seems at first reading strangely applied to Madagascar (Mickle's *Lusiad*), or to Garamant (Shelley). To American readers a "canoe" may probably seem a strange boat for the east coast of Africa; but the etymological authorities tell us the word is probably of African origin. "Cacique", however, occasionally found in Oriental context, is an importation from the West.

An interesting example of varied appeal in different words for the same object is found in the pseudo-classical "Philomela", the English "nightingale", and the Oriental "bulbul". In the early part of our period, especially, the evidences of pseudo-classical diction are all too numerous, and conventional diction of regulation Eighteenth Century type blurs the Oriental quality of many a

15. Southey uses the singular "teraph", in *The Curse of Kehama*, in strictly Oriental context.
16. See the *Appendix*, II, C.

passage. In the Oriental life of Jones' verse love is a "smart"; in this or that passage of other poets we find the "Armenian knight", the "Syrian dames", and "Asia's fair".

Among the most common Oriental words in the English verse of our period are proper names, geographical and personal. This is true in a degree of Persian, Arabian, Turkish, and East Indian passages, but is especially marked for such outlying regions as central Africa, Siberia, and Lapland, whence, at the time in question, comparatively few native words other than proper names had entered the English language. The exotic quality in the diction of Coleridge's Lapland passage in the *Destiny of Nations* depends mainly on some half dozen strange place-names. Coleridge in this respect has made no progress beyond Thomson, who in the north-eastern passage in *Winter*, while relying mainly on geographical names, introduced "caravan", "sable", and "reindeer".

Consultation of maps or books of travel is an easy process, and not a few poets introduce geographical words rare if found at all in the verse of other poets. Among such words are Bojador, Bombay, Cormandel, Madras, Molucca, Oka, Pekin and Sumatra, in Dyer; Bassora,[17] in Collins; Benares and Ki (a river), in Jones; Dahomay, in Walter Scott; Beder and Hoangho, in Southey; Istakar, Liakura, and Ukraine, in Byron; Carmanian and Chorasmian, in Shelley. There are rare words in each of the two passages compared just above; in Thomson, Niemi, Tenglio, and Tornea; in Coleridge, Balda Zhiok, Lieule-Oaive, Niemi, and Solfarkapper.

Among the most common words of this class are Arabia, Atlas, Africa, Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Ethiopia, Euphrates, Ganges, Libya, Persia, Russia, Scythia, Tartary, and Tigris. The words in the following tabulation are of more or less frequent occurence; and are examples from a much longer list that could be given:[18]

Abyssinia	Bengal	Cairo
Algiers	Bengala	Calcutta
Bactria	Bokhara	Cashmere
Bagdad	Bosphorus	Cathay
Balbec	Byzantium	Caucasus
Barbary	Caffraria	Ceylon

17. Found in Emerson's *Hermione*; doubtless in other English poets.
18. The spelling is often very various, and antiquated, as in the case of "Sahara", and "Tahiti."

Chilminar	Lahore	Samarcand
China	Lapland	Senegal
Damascus	Moscow	Shiraz
Danube	Nineveh	Siam
Fez	Nubia	Susa
Golconda	Numidia	Tahiti
Japan	Ormus	Tibet
Java	Sahara	Volga
Kamchatka		

The proper names for persons include those of Oriental gods, of historical or legendary characters, and of the *dramatis personae* of tale, drama, or lyric. If the Gothic revival emphasized such names as Woden, Balder and Valkyrie, Oriental taste responded with its Allah, Buddha, Brahma, Isis, Osiris, Nealliny, and Vishnu. One could readily make a longer reckoning than this from the verse of Jones alone. Among the historical or legendary names are Confucius, Ghengis Khan, Hafiz, Mahomet, Osman, Sadi, Sardanapalus, Semiramis, and Zenobia. The names of contemporary celebrities in the East are comparatively rare. Oriental fiction has its Leila, Abdallah and Hassan, who take their places beside the Daphnis and Chloe of pastoral poetry, and the Laura, Lesbia and Delia of love lyrics. It is not often that such a splendid name is discovered as that which Shelley gives us in "Ozymandias".

The word "Orient" itself is not uncommon, but is in less frequent use than "The East", which occurs in a multitude of phrases—"the golden East", "the burning East", "the soft luxurious East", "Venice and the East", "the East for riches famed", etc. The adjective "Oriental" seems less frequent in verse than in prose; and, again, "Eastern" is often a substitute. It may be noted in passing that "Occident" and "Occidental" are of rather infrequent occurence. If one accepts a liberal interpretation of "Oriental", one must reckon with "South" as often significant of much the same poetic qualities as were associated with the Orient proper. In fact the contrast between England and Persia or Arabia sometimes takes the form of a 'North and South' phrase. There are, of course, more general expressions, such as 'Moslem lands', 'paynim countries', etc.

Special poetic forms for familiar words are frequent. The rather bewildering variety in spelling is of slight literary interest, except

in cases where the phonetic or rhythmical value of the word is essentially altered. So far as literary meaning goes, Bramin, Brachman, Brahmin, and Brahman may probably be considered identical. The exigencies of rhyme, meter or rhythm, or the effort to fashion poetic diction, however, produce some interesting variants. Thus one finds Afric, Bengala, Bombaya, Buddh, Byzance, Bazantion, Calicut, Ganga, and, very frequently, Ind.

Words created by English poets after Oriental models are not of great significance. "Ozymandias"—if the word is a product of Shelley's imagination—may be taken as perhaps the best of its class. Many another proper name is coined, due attention being given to certain characteristic consonants. Search in the verse of Blake would probably discover some Orientalized words used for the purposes of the mystic. For humorous effects, one may note the "Crocodilople" of Southey, and the long list of "outlandish" Russian names in his *March to Moscow*. Moore passes beyond Southey, however, in daring if not in humor, in his burlesque Russian word of twenty-eight letters—"Wintztschitstopschinzoudhoff"![19]

The compounds found in Oriental verse are of no little interest. Some are transliterations; some are fashioned from words of Oriental derivation; some, of whatever etymology, express a characteristically Oriental conception, image, or poetic tone. While the formation of compounds is no special privilege of the Romantic poets, the best examples are probably found in the later poets of our period, especially in Byron, Moore, and Shelley. Others, however, sometimes of high poetical quality, are scattered through a thousand pages of a hundred other poets. Only a few examples, of special Oriental value, can be given here:

Allah-illa-Allah
Atar-gul
Aullay-horse (Southey)
Camel-driver
Citron-dram
Cobra-di-capel (Shelley)
Date-season
Desert-circle
Desert-wearied (Keble)
Fire-god
Fur-clad Russ (Cowper)
Gem-emblazoned (Peacock)
Hunter-founder (*i. e.*, Nimrod)
Million-peopled (Shelley)
Minaret-crier
Mosque-like

19. In *The Twopenny Post Bag*: *Letter V.*

Mosque-work
Mother-land of all the arts (of Egypt, Southey)
Mummy-king
Musk-wind (Moore, Mangan)
Nile-bird
Prophet-chief (*i. e.*, Mahomet)
Razeka-idol (Southey)
River-dragon (*i. e.*, crocodile)
Sand-waves
Scymetar-petals (of the lily, Mangan)
Seraglio-guard
Seven-headed idol
Spice-time
Sun-idolater
Swer-god (Southey)
Turban-forms
Vapor-belted (of the Pyramids, Shelley)
Widow-burning
Wul-wulleh
Zemzem-well

A distinct though slight service of Oriental diction to English verse is found in the matter of rhyme. No examples are found in the *Persian Eclogues*, but a half century later this detail of technique is quite conspicuous; in *The Bride of Abydos*, and *Lalla Rookh*, among other poems. In *The Bride of Abydos* "divan", "Carasman", and "Galiongee" are used twice in rhyming position; and fifteen other words, including Oglou, Ottoman, sherbet, scimetar, etc., are so used. In *Lalla Rookh* we find about thirty-six Oriental words at the end of the verses; Cashmere, Bendemeer, Chilminar, Nile, and Samarcand, each twice, Araby three times, Nourmahal seven times. Among the other rhyming words of this poem are Amberabad, Candahar, cinnamon, Caliphat, Isfahan, Jamshid, Kathay, kiosk, Malay, myrrh, Saracen, Sultana, Shadkiam, Zenana, and ziraleets. Mrs. Hemans rhymes "scimetar" with "bear", and with "war". Praed uses "Bengal" some four or five times as a rhyming word.

Many words of this Oriental vocabulary, the vocabulary of the "soft, luxuriant East", have a phonetic beauty and delicacy. Perhaps none can equal those words of gliding vowels which Stevenson discovered and praised in the islands of the South, but those word melodies do not belong to the main body of English verse. A true poet could scarcely use any of the following words without some sense of charm in the mere sound: Araby, Arabia, Arabian, azure, cinnabar, Chilminar, cassia, gazelle, Leila, Malabar, spicy, Siberia. These are chosen from a very considerable vocabulary offering similar values.

On the other hand, for moods more strenuous, there are Oriental

words of sufficient consonantal friction—words like a hiss or a blow, suggesting spirited action, though they are nouns. With such a value, at least to the imaginative reader, appear Caucasus, Cossack, Ganges, giaour, Janizary, Juggernaut, muezzin, sheik, vizier, and many others. Something of the effect of ferocious attack in Motherwell's *Ouglou's Onslaught, A Turkish Battle Song* is surely gained by an apt use of Oriental diction—in these lines, for example:

> "Tchassan Ouglou is on!
> Tchassan Ouglou is on!
> . . . . . .
> For the flesh of the Giaour
> Shriek the vultures of heaven.
> . . . . . .
> Bismillah! Bismillah!
> . . . . . .
> Through the dark strife of Death
> Bursts the gallant Pacha."

While there was a lively interest in Oriental words on the part of many of the poets of our period, it is doubtful if many of them paid as close attention to root meanings as the English poet is expected to pay in the case of classical or native vocabulary. Often the ultimate meaning of the words used was probably unknown. Jones gives his readers some careful notes on the etymological significance of the names of certain Indian deities. Probably some poets imaged black eyes when they wrote "houri", and felt the effect of the root meaning "poison" when they referred to the simoom.[20] But it is only a great poet or a great scholar who can be trusted to consider words habitually as the records of remote experience or fancy in the lives of men; and many of the authors of our study were essentially verse writers rather than artists.

20. The word "jungle" is an interesting example of wandering from the ancient root meaning, which Skeat gives thus: "Skt. *jangala*, adj. dry, desert".

CHAPTER III

Oriental Phrase and Figure

For present purposes by "phrase" is meant any simple combination of words, coherent when isolated, a line or less in length. Even the adjective-noun form indicates much concerning the general character of Oriental diction. This paper should prove, if proof were needed, that the English Oriental poets are not mere phrasemongers; yet a good deal of the novelty and of the special value of the Oriental taste is shown by examination of the simpler elements of its language.

There are many titles clearly Oriental in diction; others give no clue to the Eastern quality of the poems. *On a Beautiful East-Indian, The Moorish Maiden's Vigil, The King of the Crocodiles, The Enchanted Fruit*; *or, The Hindoo Wife, The Caravan in the Desert*, and many others[21] are in themselves interesting phrases. *Persian Eclogues* is as suggestive as *Danish Odes*. *The Traveller at the Source of the Nile* is almost a poem in itself, as is *The Wail of the Three Khalendeers*.

The refrain is often found, sometimes with genuine Oriental value, sometimes without. It is used by Collins in his third *Eclogue*, in *Lalla Rookh*, and, late in our period, by Mangan. "Karaman" is found as a complete line twenty-three times in Mangan's *Karamanian Exile*. Tendency of the Romantic Movement to favor the refrain is apparent in the verse we are studying, though it may perhaps yield no such striking examples as the refrains of *The Lady of Shalott, Sister Helen*—or of Pre-Raphaelite poetry in general. Few if any such lines as Tennyson repeats in the body of the verse in the *Idylls of the King*—

> "From the great deep to the great deep he goes",
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "Clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful,"—

21. See *Appendix*, I. A.

appear in the Oriental poetry. The most dynamic Oriental refrains are transliterations, such as Motherwell's "Allah, il allah," and "Bismillah! Bismillah!"

The purely Oriental phrases, composed of words derived from Eastern languages or of strictly Eastern connotation, are not numerous, and, from the nature of the English language, they are brief. A few examples are Pollok's "Tartar horde", Southey's "Moorish horde", Thomson's "horde on horde", Smart's "turbaned Turk", Harte's "Moorish sarabands", and Chatterton's "scarlet jasmines". Other examples could be found in personal names and in passages of geographical description.

Geographical phrases are among the most conspicuous. Many of them are what may be called "spatial phrases", in which the sense of *distance* is expressed. Such phrases, when of two terms, may have both in the Orient, or one in the Orient and the other elsewhere. A model for the first class is found in the first verse of the Book of Esther—"From India even unto Ethiopia". A simple example of the second class is found in the familiar "From China to Peru". As most of these geographical phrases are of the same general character, not many citations need be given. In a few of the following the idea of *contrast* is expressed. The first example is of a familiar type, in which a mere list of geographical units is given.

Blake: China and India and Siberia.
Burns: From Indus to Savannah.
Cunningham: From Zembla to the torrid zone.
Harte: 'Midst Abyssinian flames or Zembla's frost.
Jenyns: From frozen Lapland to Peru.
Keats: Or in Orient or in west.
Langhorne: From Bactria's vales to Britain's shore.
From Ganges to the golden Thame.
Lyttelton: From Atlas to the Pole.
Mickle's *Lusiad*: From Calpe's summit to the Caspian shore.
Peacock: From northern seas to India's coast.
Pollok: From Persia to the Red Sea Coast.
Pollok and Wordsworth: From Agra to Lahore.
Praed: Arabia's sands or Zembla's snows.
Mrs. Radcliffe: From Lapland's plains to India's steeps.
Shelley: From the Andes to Atlas.
Wilkie: From Zembla to the burning zone.

An example of this type with some special interest is found in the common 'either Ind', or 'both the Indies'. At times this phrase refers undoubtedly to the West Indies and the East Indies, but the reference is sometimes obscure. In the following citation its strictly Eastern range is clear:

> "Either India next is seen
> With the Ganges stretched between."[22]

But Southey writes,

> "In Eastern and in Occidental Ind."

In compiling a considerable number of simple phrases in which "east" ("East") or "eastern" ("Eastern") is the basal word, one perhaps trespasses somewhat on the study of Oriental themes, but it seems convenient to consider the matter here. While during our period the word "Gothic" is in frequent service, one questions whether it would be as easy to gather as many examples of phrases with that word as it was to collect the following. Certainly one could read far and wide before as numerous examples as those below could be found for phrases with "West", "Western", or "Occidental".

Among the nouns to which "eastern" (or "Eastern") is prefixed in our verse are: Arab — bards — beauty — bower — calm — caste — clan — diamond — evening — fire — gems — gold — grandeur — heart — hunt — isles — jewels — kings — lands — legend — Magi — magician — minds —monarchs — moonstone — nabobs — Nile — opal — opulence — oppression — pageantry — parliament — patriarchs — pearls — pomp — queens — rajah — ruby — ruins — satrap — star — story — tales — talisman — warfare. Among the phrases with "east" or "East", in addition in addition to those previously given, are: the liberal East, the wondrous East, the slumberous East, the East wrought by magic, the Imperial City of the East, etc.

There are almost innumerable examples of phrases formed by lists of items in the same category—the names of persons, deities, flowers, animals, etc. These may be given simply to represent the type:

Byrom: Sophy, Sultan, and Czar.

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22. James Montgomery: *A Voyage Round the World.*

Cawthorn: Of Isis, Ibis, Lotus, Nile.
Harte: Moloch and Mammon, Chiun, Dagon, Baal.
Hoole's *Orlando Furioso*: Moors, Turks, and Tartars.
Mangan: Guebre, Heathen, Jew and Gentoo.
Montgomery: Jews, and Turks and Pagans.
Smollett: Jews, Turks, and Pagans.

Such series in Oriental verse rarely have the beauty of the list of feminine names in *The Blessed Damozel*; nor have they received, in all probability, such severe criticism as Nordau, in *Degeneration*, gave to Rossetti's passage.

Certain items given above have suggested the imitative and conventional element in the phrasing of the Oriental poets. Such results are due in part to inheritance of pseudo-classical tendencies; in part, to the nature of Oriental themes, and particularly to their novelty in English verse. A study of conventionalized phrase is of value for its indication of the social mind of the era. Occasionally an individual poet will write the same phrase several times. Milton's "Araby the blest" occurs three times in the obscure verse of Thompson. Boyse responds with a thrice-used "Zembla's icy coast". There are a number of natural associations of ideas or images which lead to association of words in the phrase. Thus we often find named together the Cross and the Crescent, the Turk and his turban, the rose and the nightingale, the Chaldean and the stars, Mahomet and Allah, Zembla and frost, snow, or ice. "Harut" and "Marut" are as naturally members of a single phrase as Damon and Pythias, or Roland and Oliver. Perhaps no better example could be given of a strictly stereotyped phrase than "Tyrian dye", though even this is varied to "Tyrian purple". One or the other of these last expressions is found in poet after poet, minor and major.

The epithetical phrase proper is also very frequent, and is the result of the same influences that shaped the conventional phrase. The pseudo-classical facility in phrases of this type is impressed on every reader of Waller. To that poet it is natural to say that a trumpet is "loud", that a noise is "powerful". Is it Waller or one of his followers who is responsible for "watery sea"? Some of these epithetical phrases are taken from Greek and Latin poetry and have therefore a certain historical dignity. Others are due to lack of imagination or imaginative effort on the part of the poet; others as clearly give emphasis to certain characteristics in Ori-

ental matters which attract the fancy. The Ganges is often "sacred", the Nile often "seven-mouthed", sometimes "oozy", "slimy", frequently "fertile" or "o'erflowing". To many writers the Pyramids are simply "tall" or "old" or even "Egyptian". Shelley's fine "vapor-belted" stands out in clear relief. To one poet the Danube is "huge", to Campbell, "dark-rolling". The crocodile is "armed", or "scaly"; the desert variously "burning", "dry", "scorching", "vast", or even "sandy" and "unfruitful". The effect of a rather slight variation—looking almost like a printer's error—is seen in the comparison of "wandering Arab's tent", and "Arab's wandering tent".

While the elephant is found in Chaucer, probably the first serious efforts of English poets to give it adequate description date from our period. In Langhorne this quadruped is "ponderous", in Thomson, "huge", in Jago, "unwieldy", in Shenstone, "tusky". Hoole, in his translation of *Jerusalem Delivered*, fashions a phrase with two of these adjectives and the idea of a third—"The huge elephant's unwieldy weight". Epithetical, no doubt, but more poetic are the compounds "castle-crowned", and "tower-crowned". Shelley makes a good phrase out of very simple elements in the "wise and fearless elephant".[23]

A good example of a phrase at once conventional, epithetical, and of Oriental etymology, is "Tartar horde".

What may be called the "formal poetic phrase" has some kinship with the epithetical phrase, but in characteristic form appears in somewhat longer expressions. Such phrases may be lyrical in quality, but are perhaps more likely to be epic or merely descriptive. They are often cheapened by reliance upon such details as capitalization and alliteration, and particularly by overuse; but at their best add something to the Oriental values of the verse. This is particularly true when they are virtualy translations of Oriental conceptions; as in Moore's "Apricots, Seed of the Sun", or Thomson's "stony girdle of the world", which he explains as an English rendering of the Russian "Weliki Camenypoys"—a name for the Riphean Mountains. "God and The Prophet", "Mahomet is His Prophet" are other examples of phrasing shaped in the East. Or the English expression may be credited to some

23. Shelley is not always above following less poetic predecessors. His "Scythian frost" has no originality: we find "Scythian snows" in Fergusson, and "Scythia's snow-clad rocks" in Mickle.

foreign western poet: "Imperial Calicut" occurs several times in Mickle's *Lusiad*. Whatever its origin, "Mountains of the Moon" is found several times in the verse of James Montgomery, and is once used by Thomson. Sometimes the poet plays variations on his linguistic theme, as later Tennyson varied "Holy Grail" with "Holy Thing", "Holy Vessel", "Holy Cup", etc. Southey presents the Simorg as the "Ancient Simorg", the "Ancient Bird", and the "Bird of Ages".

This formal type of phrase is much more frequent in some poets than in others. It is characteristic of the Oriental verse of Southey, Moore, and, probably to a less extent, of Byron and Mangan. While based in part on pseudo-classical methods, it belongs in large part to what might be called pseudo-romanticism. Yet in its formal, decorative, frequently figurative qualities, it may often be a true sign of Oriental style. Its general type is familiar to any reader of the Apocalypse; and it is probably found in all literatures of peoples who love ceremony. The values of the following examples will be readily perceived:

Akenside: The Python of the Nile.

Blair: The mighty troublers of the earth.

Bowles: The City of the Sun.
The Chambers of the dead.
The God of silence.

Byron: Blest—as the Muezzin's strain from Mecca's wall.
With Maugrabee and Mamaluke.

Macaulay: The Palace of the golden stairs.
The city of the thousand towers.

Mangan: The Flower of Flowers.
The Old House with the Ebon Gates (*i. e.*, the earth).
Scales and Bridge.
The Shadow of God.
The Time of the Roses.

Moore: The Feast of Roses.
For God and Iran.
The Isles of Perfume.
The land of Myrrh.
The Light of the Harem.

People of the Rock.
Prophet of the Veil.
Province of the Sun.
The Spirit of Fragrance.
Yizd's eternal Mansion of the Fire.
The Moon of Love.
The Queen of Slaves.

Southey: Bowers of Paradise.
Guardian of the Garden.
Icy Wind of Death.
Master of the Powerful Ring.
Prince of the Morning.
Servant of the Prophet.
Sorceress of the Silver Locks.
Spirit of the Sepulchre.

After reading a thousand such expressions as "Afric's burning sands", "the wealth of all the Indies", and "spicy Arabian gales"; after familiarity with such prosaic expressions as "late-discovered Tibet" and "the long canals of China"; after noting the frequency of such phrases as those just given; after realizing the cheaper phases of the Oriental diction—one is glad to discover fresh and vigorous language in this field, whether it takes the form of humor, or of genuine individual imagination. There are, to use a figure surely appropriate in this connection, not a few oases in the "sandy waste". In a mood of distaste for the trite expressions, even "flat-nosed China" seems a welcome phrase; and one is glad to read of the

'land of muslin and nankeening,
the land of slaves and palankeening;'

glad to try to realize the simple but surely Oriental conception in "some tiger-tamer to a nabob", to listen to Mason's "pigmy chanticleer of Bantam", or pass into the reception room to greet that "Chinese nymph of tears, green tea". Such a phrase as "snorting camels" helps one to believe the camel was sometimes a real animal to the imagination of the English poet.

In biverbal phrase or longer, as a matter mainly of diction or mainly of imagery, many expressions are found, of more elevated type than those just given, which add something to the beauty or

dignity of English verse. The Lapland witch is a conventional idea, but Wordsworth gives us "Lapland roses", and Shelley the simile, "Lovely as a Lapland night". It is Shelley, also, who writes "the swart tribes of Garamant and Fez", "the sins of Islam", "the million-peopled city vast", "the rose-ensanguined ivory". Among the more decorative phrases of Byron are "a Koran of illumined dyes", "fragrant beads of amber", "lamp of fretted gold", and "Sheeraz' tribute of perfume". Landor, for all his classicism, occasionally falls into the luxuriant style of Oriental verse, as in

"Arabian gold enchased the crystal roof",

and,

"Myrrh, nard and cassia from three golden urns".

The tendency is of course toward such decorative expressions. Wordsworthian taste found little to satisfy it in genuine Oriental style. Yet there are themes within the wide range of Oriental taste that could be expressed with a noble simplicity, and at somewhat rare intervals were so expressed. Wordsworth himself writes the line,

"Mindful of Him who in the Orient born",

and Hawker has a similar line—

"Therefore the Orient is the home of God".

Crabbe images Egypt as a "far land of crocodiles and apes", and Montgomery notes, simply enough for the nonce, how "terribly beautiful the serpent lay". Cowper has this line in *Expostulation*:

"The fervor and the force of Indian skies."

Beddoes in general is over-ornate and often vague; but he is capable of such lines as these, even in Oriental passages:

"The skull of some old king of Nile."

. . . . . .

"Under the shadow of a pyramid."

One might suppose the thought of the desert would lead to some clear, restrained expressions. Perhaps these selections from Rogers, Beddoes, Bowles and Keble, in the order named, may be credited as such:

"Every wild cry of the desert."
"A spectre of the desert deep."
"The camel's shadow on the sand."
"The dry unfathomed deep of sands."

Peacock is hardly less severe in the line,

"O'er deserts where the Siroc raves."

Yet one must return again and again to the more characteristic style, as "flowery" as the plain of Zabran and the vale of Aly in Collins' fourth *Eclogue*. Much was written in the prose of our period concerning the figurative nature of Eastern style; and this nature of course appears in the English Oriental and Orientalized verse. In the preface to the 1772 edition of his poems, Sir William Jones asks the reader to "compare the manner of the Asiatic poets with that of the Italians, many of whom have written in the true spirit of the Easterns." In his text he includes a number of sonnets and portions of sonnets from Petrarch, in the original and translated into English, that the reader may make the comparison suggested in the preface. In his essay *On the Poetry of the Eastern Nations* he gives in transliteration an ode of Hafiz, and translates it into English thus—according to his statement, "word for word": "O sweet gale, thou bearest the fragrant scent of my beloved; thence it is that thou hast this musky odour. Beware! do not steal: what hast thou to do with her tresses? O rose, what art thou, to be compared with her bright face? She is fresh, and thou art rough with thorns. O narcissus, what art thou in comparison of her languishing eye? Her eye is only sleepy, but thou art sick and faint. O pine, compared with her graceful stature, what honour hast thou in the garden? O wisdom, what wouldst thou choose, if to choose were in thy power, in preference to her love? O sweet basil, what art thou, to be compared with her fresh cheeks? They are perfect musk, but thou art soon withered. O Hafez, thou wilt one day attain the object of thy desire, if thou canst but support thy pain with patience." This surely is to some degree comparable with the "conceits" of the Elizabethan Muse, intoxicated by the wine of Petrarchism. It also suggests some Oriental passages in Byron, and much in the style of *Lalla Rookh*.

The Arabians also make many figurative comparisons in their poetry. They compare the foreheads of their mistresses to the

morning, their locks to the night; their faces to the Sun, the Moon, or to blossoms of jasmine; their straight form to a pine-tree or a javelin, etc.

It is natural to expect some attention to this characteristic of Eastern poetry in the Oriental poems of Byron and Moore, and the reader is not disappointed. Both in the text and in the usual footnotes of the period, specific examples are given of the results of Arabian or Persian imagination in the form of simile or metaphor. This passage in *The Giaour*, is, according to Byron, an "Oriental simile":

> "On her fair cheek's unfading hue
> The young pomegranate's blossoms strew
> Their bloom in blushes ever new."

From Moore's annotation of *Lalla Rookh* we learn that "the two black standards borne before the Caliphs of the House of Abbas were called, allegorically, the Night and the Shadow". Further, that the mandrake is the Devil's candle; that falling stars are the firebrands good angels use to drive away the bad; that fingers tinted with henna are like the tips of coral branches; that the Malays call the tube-rose the "Mistress of the Night", and that in their language one word serves for "women" and "flowers".

Other English poets are perhaps not quite so much inclined to follow Eastern style in its figurative aspects. In certain passages, either in verse or prose, one occasionally notices a tendency to apologize for an over-decorative quality, according to the ancient formula of Chaucer in another matter—it was so put down in 'my author'. Jeffrey opens his rather elaborate and on the whole enthusiastic review of *Lalla Rookh*[24] with some approval and some disapproval of the general glamour of its style. "The beauteous forms, the dazzling splendours, the breathing odours of the East, seem at last to have found a kindred poet in that green isle of the West; whose Genius has long been suspected to be derived from a warmer clime, and now wantons and luxuriates in those voluptuous regions, as if it felt that it had at length regained its native element. . . . . There is not, in the volume now before us, a simile or description, a name, a trait of history, or allusion of romance which belongs to European experience; or does not indicate an entire familiarity with the life, the dead nature, and

24. In the *Edinburgh Review*, November, 1817.

the learning of the East. Nor are these barbaric ornaments thinly scattered to make up a show. They are showered lavishly over all the work; and form, perhaps too much, the staple of the poetry—and the riches of that which is chiefly distinguished for its richness." But the critic adds: "we rather think we speak the sense of most readers . . . that the effect of the whole is to mingle a certain feeling of disappointment with that of admiration! . . . . . to dazzle, more than to enchant—and, in the end, more frequently to startle the fancy, and fatigue the attention, by the constant succession of glittering images and high-strained emotions, than to maintain a rising interest, or win a growing sympathy, by a less profuse or more systematic display of attractions."

Such unfavorable opinion of the highly colored style of Oriental poetry, or of poetry Orientalized in England, did not begin with Jeffrey. At the opening of our period Collins wrote, apparently with the idea of defense in mind,[25] of the "rich and figurative" style of the Arabian and Persian poetry in contrast with the "strong and nervous" style of his countrymen. Shortly before Jeffrey's review appeared, John Foster had occasion to review a translation of the *Ramayuna*.[26] He opened his remarks thus: "Scarcely so much as a third part of a century has passed away, since a large proportion of the wise men of here in Europe were found looking, with a devout and almost trembling reverence, toward the awful mysteries of Sanscrit literature." The disappointment of the sturdy soul of Foster when the "mysteries" arrived in the form of the translated masterpiece is evident throughout his review. He writes of the *Ramayuna*, it is "a formless jumble . . . . [it] will encounter utter contempt in Europe . . . . The lingo in which these feats are narrated, defies all imitation . . . . . An insurmountable obstacle to the popularity of this sort of reading in Europe . . . would be the vast number of names by which each of the gods or heroes is designated", etc.

It is well, perhaps, that in most of our Orientalized verse the rich coloring is not emphasized, that the sparkling similes and metaphors are often a mere passing adornment of some more or less simple English conception, in some cases quite practical, even

25. See the original preface of his *Eclogues*. Professor Phelps' statement in *The English Romantic Movement* (p. 95) that Collins "apologized" for the florid manner of Abdallah of Tauris seems a little too strong.

26. See his paper on *Sanscrit Literature*; listed in *Appendix*, I, C, 2.

didactic. The following examples may indicate the quality and range of such figures. Few poets of our period attained the simplicity of style found in *Sohrab and Rustum*, but in style Arnold's poem is hardly Oriental.

Blake: "Black as marble of Egypt."

Campbell: "As easily as the Arab reins his steed."
"That Upas-tree of power."
"Sultan of the sky." (For the eagle.)

Chatterton: "Swift as the elk."

Hartley Coleridge: "Keener than the Tartar's arrow."

Keble: "The tresses of the palm."

Lloyd: "In curves and angles twists about
Like Chinese railing, in and out."
(Of the prosody of the Pindaric ode.)

Montgomery: "Mad as a Libyan wilderness by night
With all its lions up, in chase or fight."

Praed: "Swift as . . . the flight of a shaft from Tartar string."

Procter: "Witching as the nightingale first heard
Beneath the Arabian heavens."

"Wild as a creature in the forest born
That springs on Asian sands."

Shelley: "A Babylon of crags and aged trees."

"Rose like the crest of cobra-di-capel."

Southey: "Proud as a Turk at Constantinople."

Wilson: " . . . lovely as the western sky
To the wrapt Persian worshipping the sun."

Beddoes shapes a common metaphor into the phrase, "tears of crocodile coinage". Another expression of his is "the hieroglyphic human soul"; still another, unhappy perhaps but forceful in its way, "whole Niles of wine". That he can attain directness and simplicity even in his metaphors is shown by this selection:

" . . . . . all the minutes of my life
Are sands of a great desert."

CHAPTER IV

Oriental Passage and Poem

Orientalism in English verse appears in the word, the phrase, the passage, the poem, and group of poems. In this chapter some discussion is given to the last three of these units of structure.

The passage varies in length from one line to a hundred lines or more. As a matter of significance in the history of English poetry, Orientalism is concerned in large part with these thousands of passages, of varied tone, on varied themes, scattered through the most diverse poems by poets of widely different schools, from Chaucer to Kipling.

As examples of the couplet passage, we may take the following, the first from Praed's *Australasia*, the second from Newman's *Solitude*:

> "On thee, on thee I gaze, as Moslems look
> To the blest Islands of their Prophet's Book."

> "By this the Arab's kindling thoughts expand,
> When circling skies inclose the desert sand."

Occasionally one finds an Oriental stanza as well unified, as distinct from the context, as some of the best known stanzas of *The Fairy Queen* or *The Castle of Indolence*. A few stanzas of this type occur in some of the poems of *The Christian Year*. In William Thompson's *Hymn to May*, the thirteenth stanza is almost a poem in itself; if not a poem of very high quality:

> "All as the phenix, in Arabian skies,
> New-burnished from his spicy funeral pyres,
> At large, in roseal undulation, flies;
> His plumage dazzles and the gazer tires;
> Around their king the plumy nations wait,
> Attend his triumph, and augment his state:
> He, towering, claps his wings and wins th'ethereal
> height."

Poems which may be called Oriental in their entirety often contain passages of heightened Oriental value, either in diction or in presentation of sharply defined theme; just as in pastoral poems there are frequent passages of pastoralism *par excellence*. *The Bride* of Miss Baillie, for example, is Oriental as a whole, but the Nirvana passage at the close of I, 2, and the palanquin, elephant, and monkey passages in the opening of the next scene, stand out in rather high relief.

There are in our period numerous poems of a type which naturally includes Oriental reference. For convenience we may call this type the "world-poem". In poems of this class the poet passes from country to country, either for the mere delight of wandering, or for the purpose of tracing the history or present status of some idea, some social condition, or some phase of nature. Without attempting a complete enumeration, the following poems of this type or closely allied with it may be named:

Akenside: The Pleasures of the Imagination.
Armstrong: The Art of Preserving Health.
Blair: The Grave.
Bowles: The Spirit of Discovery by Sea.
The Spirit of Navigation.
Campbell: The Pleasures of Hope.
Cawthorn: The Vanity of Human Enjoyments.
Coleridge: The Destiny of Nations.
Dyer: The Fleece.
Langhorne: Fables of Flora.
Mallet: The Excursion.
James Montgomery: A Voyage Round the World.
Pollok: The Course of Time.
Rogers: Ode to Superstition.
Smollett: Ode to Independence.
Joseph Warton: Fashion: A Satire.
Ode to Liberty.
Young: Night Thoughts.

These all contain Oriental passages. For present purposes Montgomery's poem of imaginary travel is one of the best. It opens with the stanza:

"Emblem of eternity,
Unbeginning, endless sea!
Let me launch my soul on thee."

We first touch earth in Greenland—a favorite country with this author; then pass to Labrador, Canada, New England, Pennsylvania, the West Indies, across South America; to begin the Oriental portion of the trip in "pale Siberia's deserts".

In one or another poem with the world-view, we find the roll-call of great rivers, as in Peacock's *Genius of the Thames*, of famous cities, of lands and of peoples. Probably there are no stranger Oriental passages in any English poet than some of those in Blake; yet in the first quotation below we have a bare simplicity, suggesting some of the American catalogues of Whitman, which is in striking contrast with the mysticism of the second passage:

"France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Poland, Russia,
Sweden, Turkey,
Arabia, Palestine, Persia, Hindostan, China, Tartary, Siberia,
Egypt, Lybia, Ethiopia, Guinea, Caffraria, Negroland, Morocco,
Congo, Zaara, Canada, Greenland, Carolina, Mexico,
Peru, Patagonia, Amazonia, Brasil,—Thirty-two
Nations."[27]

"Egypt is the eight steps within, Ethiopia supports
his pillars,
Lybia and the Lands unknown are the ascent without:
Within is Asia and Greece, ornamented with exquisite art;
Persia and Media are his halls, his inmost hall is
Great Tartary;
China and India and Siberia are his temples for
entertainment."[28]

A form of simple geographical concept is found in what may be called the "compass-passage". It often has obvious affinity with the "China to Peru" phrase noticed in Chapter III. "Simple" in general, for in Blake, again, the cardinal points of the compass are given mystical meaning.

As suggested by some of the titles given above, this or that poet traces poetry, superstition, liberty, commerce, disease or death

27. *Jerusalem*, Chapter III (72).
28. *Ibid.*, Chapter III (58).

around the globe, and for all these themes and others the Orient offers its contribution. Thus in *Fashion: A Satire*, Joseph Warton selects from the East a curious custom of the Tartar, and of the Chinese, and his India is a land,

> "Where sainted Brachmans, sick of life, retire,
> To die spontaneous on the spicy pyre."

Such travels of fancy are not new in our period. It will be remembered that Thomson journeys far and wide to find appropriate examples of the heat and fructifying power of summer, and the storms and desolation of winter; not forgetting to visit the Orient in both seasons.

A special interest attaches to Oriental passages in poems of Celtic, Gothic, Occidental, and Biblical quality; largely by way of contrast. Brief touches that might be considered Oriental are found in Miss Baillie's *William Wallace*;[29] Hogg, in his poem on the same hero, introduces a couplet on the "great Tartar". In Montgomery's *Greenland* we find this passage of unmistakable Eastern flavor:

> "Unwearied as the camel, day by day,
> Tracks through unwatered wilds his doleful way,
> Yet in his breast a cherished draught retains,
> To cool the fervid current in his veins,
> While from the sun's meridian realms he brings
> The gold and gems of Ethiopian kings."[30]

Miss Baillie's *Christopher Columbus* contains at least a mention of the Moors, while in Rogers' poem on Columbus there is a passage of six lines given to the Oriental desert.[31] No more interesting example of contrast could be found than this passage from Rogers' *Human Life*, though the poem as a whole is English or vague in setting:

> "At night, when all, assembling round the fire,
> Closer and closer draw till they retire,
> A tale is told of India or Japan,
> Of merchants from Golcond or Astracan,
> What time wild Nature revelled unrestrained,
> And Sinbad voyaged and the Caliphs reigned:—
> Of some Norwegian, while the icy gale

29. Strophes 58 and 91.
30. Canto I.
31. Canto VIII.

Rings in her shrouds and beats her iron sail,
Among the snowy Alps of Polar seas
Immovable—forever there to freeze!
Or some great caravan, from well to well
Winding as darkness on the desert fell,
In their long march, such as the Prophet bids,
To Mecca from the land of Pyramids,
And in an instant lost—a hollow wave
Of burning sand their everlasting grave!"

Whether we include Wells' *Joseph and His Brethren* among Oriental poems or not is a matter of definition. Its source is in the Old Testament and its coloring partly Hebraic, but against the general background there are several passages of the clearest Oriental value; especially the Prologue of Act II, and in I, 3, II, 3 and III, 3. In III, 3, in the midst of a rich Oriental context we have this excellent example of a brief faunal passage:

"The supple panther and white elephant,
The hoary lion with his ivory fangs,
The barrèd tiger with his savage eye,
The untamed zebra, beasts from foreign lands," etc.

Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming* is an interesting poem, showing several distinct historical influences. Written largely in Spenserian stanza, with scenes and characters of the new world, and 'entirely Germanized in style', it is not without its Oriental touch, slight though it be. Stanza 24 of Part II closes with the lines,

"And more than the wealth that loads the breeze
When Coromandel's ships return from Indian seas."

It is interesting to remember that the word "Indian" is of frequent occurrence in the poem, but outside this passage refers to the red man of America.

Many other examples could be given of Oriental passages in a context which gives them a certain strangeness or at least a certain relief. Such are the references to the Eastern life, even if generally rather prosaic, in Crabbe's realistic, novelistic tales; the numerous citation of Oriental standards for the sake of comparing English values in Wordsworth's *Prelude*; and the "parable" of Eastern type introduced into Lamb's *Wife's Trial* to help unravel complexities at the end of the story.

The Oriental passage sometimes serves to point a moral, some-

times to give a bit of strange, foreign quality to commonplace characters or situation. It often appears in the form of simile or metaphor. As to theme, it varies from a general conception of the Orient, or of some large section of it, to very specific subjects. The Oriental theme in general is discussed in the two following chapters. Among the common subjects of concrete nature are the car of Juggernaut, the caravan, the camel, the elephant, the rich natural products of the Orient, the hidden sources of the Nile, the ruins of Babylon, Palmyra, or other cities, the return of a traveller from the East, the tyranny of the Turk, the cold of Siberia, the gypsies in England, memories of *Arabian Nights*, etc. We have previously noted the general geographical passage. There are, however, several types of passage which may be given a further word here. One of these presents the flower theme; another the jewel theme.

A botanical passage in English verse is not necessarily Oriental, but in many cases it is partly Orientalized. We find examples in Collins' third *Eclogue*, in Mason's *English Garden*, in John Scott's *Epistles*, and elsewhere. Probably for Oriental if not for poetic quality no passage could surpass this from Jones' *Enchanted Fruit*:

> "Light-pinioned gales, to charm the sense,
> Their odorif'rous breath dispense;
> From belas pearl'd, or pointed, bloom,
> And malty rich, they steal perfume:
> There honey-scented singarhar,
> And juhy, like a rising star,
> Strong chempa, darted by camdew,
> And mulsery of paler hue,
> Cayora, which the ranies wear
> In tangles of their silken hair,
> Round babul-flow'rs and gulachein
> Dyed like the shell of beauty's queen,
> Sweet mindy press'd for crimson stains,
> And sacred tulsy pride of plains,
> With sewty, small unblushing rose,
> Their odours mix, their tints disclose."

The flower passage may be Orientalized; the jewel passage in our period is naturally Oriental in general, for obvious reasons. The jewels themselves and in many cases their names, came from the East. In the Bible there are three distinct passages of this type; in Exodus XXVIII, 17-20, Ezekiel XXVIII, 13, and Reve-

lations XXI, 19-20. All three passages, though written at long intervals, include, besides gold, the beryl, emerald, jasper, sapphire, sardius and topaz. In two passages we find amethyst, carbuncle, diamond, onyx, and sardonyx; while the following are found in only one passage: agate, chalcedony, chrysoprasus, chrysolyte, jacinth, and pearls. The jewel passage in Thomson's *Summer*—introduced as evidence of the beneficent power of the sun, "Parent of Seasons"—names only the amethyst, diamond, emerald, opal, ruby, sapphire, and topaz, but with the descriptions given occupies twenty lines. Later passages of this type are found in Hoole's translations of Ariosto and Tasso, in Brooke, Crabbe, Harte, Procter, Shenstone, and other poets. Harte's passage[32] is interesting in this point: for all the jewels—a standard list—except the turquoise he gives a Biblical reference; for the jewel named a reference to an authority stating that "The true oriental turquoise comes out of the old rock in the mountains of Piriskua, about eighty miles from the town of Moscheda."

The Oriental poem, as we have seen, may occasionally be written in Greek or Latin; but such poems are rare. In length it varies from a few lines to epic proportions. Montgomery's *Parrot* contains only thirty-three words; his *Pelican* and *Ostrich* being slightly longer. Jones' *To Lady Jones* contains less than one hundred words. There may perhaps be some epigrams or epitaphs of couplet length that could be called Oriental, but they do not seem at all frequent; nor do we find the quatrain, later made so famous by Fitzgerald, popular in our period.

Some poems with Oriental title and setting prove to contain a very slight element of Oriental diction or real Oriental color. The only word which could in any sense be called Oriental in Jones' *Chinese Ode Paraphrased* is "ivory". In the same poet's *Song from the Persian*, "lily", "cypress", and "rose" must serve for Eastern terms. There is doubtless conveyed to most readers, something of a vaguely "Indian" atmosphere by Shelley's *Serenade*. Yet it contains but a single word of genuine Oriental quality. That word, though found in other English poems, is habitually associated by many readers, one may imagine, with this particular poem. In *Kubla Khan*, the *per cent* of Oriental words is two or three; in Mangan's *Karamanian Exile*, on account

32. In *Thomas a Kempis: A Vision*; beginning "The Gold of Ophir."

of the repetition of the word "Karaman", the proportion rises to some fifteen or sixteen *per cent.* For much higher proportions than this we must go, not to the poem, but to the phrase or line; at most to the brief passage.

The Orientalism of our period is not to any remarkable degree expressed by novel or characteristic verse forms. A large number of the Eastern poems are written in a versification which served English poets of various tastes—in heroic couplets, octosyllabics, blank verse, Spenserian stanza, ottava rima, and varied lyric stanzas, mostly of simple type. As to rhythm, there is some use of humorous anapestics, some of more serious triple movement, as in Byron's *Destruction of Sennacherib.* There seems little or nothing so characteristic of this taste as the short lines with rugged rhythm and alliterative tendency were characteristic of the Gothic taste.

That is not the whole story of Orientalized verse, however. Jones gives us at least one ghazel, in transliteration, not translation; and one at least is written by Mangan. Another is found in Moore's *Twopenny Post Bag, Letter VI.*[33] Jones writes under the titles of several of his poems 'in the measure of the original', and in a few cases rewrites in more regular English verse to bring out the difference. To one unacquainted with Eastern prosody, there is nothing very distinctive of the Orient in such lines as

> "With cheeks where eternal paradise bloomed,
> Sweet Laili the soul of Kais had consumed."

There is something strange, for the period, however, in the versification of the *Ode of Jami*:

> "How sweet the gale of morning breathes! Sweet
> news of my *delight* he brings:
> News, that the rose will soon approach the tuneful
> bird of *night* he brings."

There is perhaps fully as much interest in the rendition of *A Turkish Ode of Mesihi* into paragraphs of poetic prose. Jones, who was a translator of Pindar, writes the *Hymn to Durga* in the form of a regular Pindaric ode; and it seems likely that the extensive use of this form in the Eighteenth Century had its effect on the

33. This form is found among the burlesque poems of Thackeray.

Oriental verse of other poets, including, perhaps, Southey. All of the poets after the *Lyrical Ballads*, with few exceptions, were interested in experiments in English verse, and Southey carried into the composition of *The Curse of Kehama* and *Thalaba* a definite purpose to embody his Orientalism in appropriate versification. To say the least, Oriental verse from Jones to Mangan showed the general tendency to substitute anything and everything for the conventional heroic couplet. As a detail, the frequency of the refrain, from Collins' *Eclogues* to *Lalla Rookh* may be mentioned.

While Orientalism, so far as noted, produced no sonnet sequences, it has given a number of typical and worthy poems in sonnet form. One may recall again that the *Sardanapalus* of Surrey is both a sonnet and an Oriental poem. We could not afford to lose from our poetry the *Crocodile* of Beddoes, the *Ozymandias* of Shelley, or the sonnets of Keats and Shelley on the Nile. Simply as poems, these, with *Kubla Khan*, are among the best products of Oriental taste during our period.

The titles of some of our poems are flat or without specific Oriental quality. On the other hand, one has only to remember *Lalla Rookh, The Curse of Kehama, Kubla Khan, Asia,* as well as among poems of minor fame, *Juggernaut, Palmyra, The Caravan in the Desert,* and a host of others. *The Wail of the Three Khalendeers* seems as good as *Mandalay*. If one wishes something in lighter vein, he may choose *The King of the Crocodiles*, from Southey; or *I'm Going to Bombay*, and *The Kangaroos: A Fable*, from Hood.

The miscellaneous character of the verse forms of Oriental poetry is suggestive of the variety in the poetic types themselves. The list of these types is long; the roll of forms distinctly Oriental, much shorter. We find poetic types ranging from the dirge to the epic, and including the love lyric, *vers de société*, epithalamium, fable, eclogue, ode, ballad, fictitious epistle, allegory, battle song, hymn, tale, parody, inscription, serenade, drama, and other forms. The proverb, so familiar in Old Testament literature, seems rare, even in passages; but Southey opens his *Sonnet XI* with

" 'Beware a speedy friend!' the Arabian said."

Among the poetic types which seem characteristic of the Orient, or at least of the Oriental taste in England, are the fable, the tale,

the drama, and the eclogue. The tale has been considered at length, for the earlier part of the Eighteenth Century, by Miss Conant. A word may be given here to the drama, the eclogue, and the translation. The "ballad" and the "ode" are often falsely so named in the poetry of the earlier part of our period.

A complete account of the Oriental drama from 1740 to 1840 would require a separate paper. The type is as old as the Elizabethan era, and there are signs of it in the medieval epoch. Oriental plays of the same general character as those of the Restoration period continued to be produced in England until the Romantic Movement was triumphant. Hughes' *Siege of Damascus* appeared in 1720, Aaron Hill's *Zara* in 1736. The influence of Voltaire's Orientalism is to be traced in *Zara* and in later plays. Among the plays of our own period, we may name Miss Baillie's *Bride* and *Constantine Paleologus*; Miller's *Mahomet the Imposter*; *Irene*; *Hellas*; and *Sardanapalus*. It is interesting to note some Oriental elements in two "oratorios" of the period, both Biblical in subject and general treatment—Brooke's *Ruth*, and Jago's *Adam*. Many plays not entirely Eastern include some Oriental elements. Miss Baillie's *Martyr* has as a prominent character, Orceres, a Parthian; Brown's *Barbarossa* is Algerian in setting; Coleman's *Mountaineers* is Moorish in part. Wells' *Joseph and His Brethren* was noted a few pages above. For prologues, we may name Wells' again, and add Goldsmith's *Prologue to Zobeide*. This couplet from Young's *Epistle to Lord Lansdowne* is of interest:

> "Then with a sigh returns our audience home
> From Venice, Egypt, Persia, Greece, or Rome."

To return for a moment to *Constantine Paleologus*. The settings include Mahomet's camp near Constantinople; the interior of St. Sophia; a view of the city in the background, "seen in the dimness of cloudy moonlight"; and this—which perhaps has a slight suggestion of *Vathek*: "a large sombre room, with mystical figures and strange characters painted upon the walls, and lighted only by one lamp, burning upon a table near the front of the stage". At the opening of Act III, Mahomet is discovered "sitting alone in the eastern manner". At the opening of Act I, Scene 2, of Beddoes' *Death's Jest-Book* we read this stage direction: "The African Coast: a woody solitude near the sea. In the back ground ruins overshadowed by the characteristic vegetation of the Oriental

regions". The chief Oriental element in Dodsley's brief *Rex et Pontifex* is in the stage directions. Among those who attempted Oriental opera were Dodsley, Lewis, and Miss Mitford.

In the Eighteenth Century the writing of eclogues was a habit of English poets. One finds 'Amœbæan Eclogues', 'Moral Eclogues', 'Sacred Eclogues', 'Town Eclogues', and even 'English Eclogues'. It is not strange that we should also find eclogues African, Arabian, Chinese, East Indian, Persian; and a group devoted to life at Botany Bay. Some of these have considerable Oriental color; others have comparatively little. The shepherd life is no doubt correctly associated with certain parts of the Orient, but one often feels that the pastoralism of these pieces is pseudo-Latin rather than vitally Eastern. Collins' mature view of his success in his pastoral venture was not favorable. The life of the caravan and the harem seems more distinctly Oriental than the keeping of the flocks—as the conventional poetic shepherd kept them—or making love to a pastoral mistress.

Real translation of Oriental poems is found in Mrs. Montagu—with the aid of other wits—and in Jones. Pseudo-translation and paraphrase seem far more characteristic of the English Orientalism of the Eighteenth Century. It is the period of Chatterton, Ireland, and Macpherson. Why should not Collins tell his readers that his *Eclogues* were written by 'Abdallah, a native of Tauris'? He closes the preface of the first edition with the reflection, "the works of orientals contain many peculiarities, and . . . . . through defect of language, few European translators can do them justice". Mangan, at the end of our period, announces that his *Hundred-Leafed Rose* is "By Mohammed ben Ali Nakkash, called Lamii, or, The Dazzling". Pseudo-translations appear from the Arabic, Chinese, Persian, and Turkish. None from the Japanese have been noted. The real translations of the period, in the main, were from the old familiar sources—Greek, Latin, Italian, French; and from the newly-discovered Germanic or Celtic literatures. For the reception of one real translation, see above, page 41. Among other translators of note were Sir John Bowring, Joshua Marshman, and Sir Charles Wilkins.

The tendency in translation and in paraphrase seems to be to expand, as was the case in earlier periods—in the rendering of the Psalms, for example. Jones' paraphrase of the *Chinese Ode* in twenty-four lines is followed by a "verbal translation" in only

nine lines. His translation of *A Persian Song of Hafiz* is written in fifty-four lines; the transliteration occupies thirty-six.

The setting of the Oriental poem is as various as its form or theme. It may appear in a real letter (Mrs. Montagu), in an essay (Jones), in prose fiction (Mrs. Radcliffe and Walter Scott), or in a prose frame (*Lalla Rookh*). As a lyric it appears in the long narrative poem, *Childe Harold*, for example; or in the drama, *The Bride*, for example. It can be found as a member of a group of Oriental poems, as in the *Eclogues* of Collins and John Scott; or in non-Oriental groups, as in Mrs. Hemans' *Lays of Many Lands* and *Songs of Spain*, Keble's *Christian Year* and Moore's *National Airs*. The Oriental poems under the last title, as well as poems by Burns and Byron, are among those written, in imagination at least, for Eastern tunes.

The number of Oriental poems written in England from the death of Pope to the opening of the Victorian era will depend on the definition of the vital adjective. In the *Appendix*[34] we have listed about 370 poems. Many of these would doubtless be rejected by a more exact critical method. Many others would be added by a more sweeping examination of the verse of the period. The number as well as the variety of the poems, in any case, is sufficient to indicate a wide-spread vogue, however artificial in part; a vogue much more extensive in this period than before, and destined to live and develop, in some respects with more satisfactory poetic results, in the Victorian era, and in the Twentieth Century.

No English poet of any note has devoted himself entirely to the Orient. Our review has made it clear that in many poets Orientalism is simply one poetic experiment among several. The Oriental poet is usually an eclectic poet. Even Jones, leader in the movement, is a Grecian and a Latinist. In such poets as Chatterton, Moore, Montgomery, Southey, and Mrs. Hemans, the Eastern element is accompanied by elements offering the greatest contrast. In spite of *Lalla Rookh* and Byron's Turkish tales, there seems to be in our period no poet, with the exception of Jones, whose name is so intimately associated with Orientalized poetry as are the names of Fitzgerald, Edwin Arnold, and Kipling.

The experiments of the early Romantic Movement, and of its

34. See the pages under I. A.

era of triumph, were subject to that attack of the parodist which awaits most conspicuous novelties. *The Rebuilding*, imitating the diction and prosody of *The Curse of Kehama*, is one of the best poems in *Rejected Addresses*. Among favorites for the parodist were *Kubla Khan* and that oldtime delight of youthful elocutionists, *Casabianca*. For further results of this aftermath of the Oriental taste, one may examine the pages edited by Jerrold and Leonard, Hamilton, and Henry Morley.

CHAPTER V

The East and the West

In this chapter we shall consider some of the common themes of English Oriental verse which are concerned with the relations of the East to England or other western lands. The subjects are so numerous that only some of the more prominent or the more significant, for one reason or another, can be mentioned.

Our poetry records many objects which came into England from the East as a matter of course, not under stimulus of any special Oriental taste. The catalogue of these would be a long one, and doubtless a dry one, of commercial and prosaic value rather than poetic. Here belong the drugs and spices, including coffee, various kinds of tea, cinnamon, nutmegs; articles of dress; household pets such as the canary bird—if we credit that to the Orient—and the parrot; the animals of the menagerie; jewels; gold acquired in Eastern residence, and even stocks in Eastern commercial ventures; and the mummy of public or private collection. This couplet in Young is a fair sample of much of the verse which presents this material:

> "Cold Russia costly furs from far,
> Hot China sends her painted jar."[35]

"Chunee", London elephant of the early Nineteenth Century, is immortalized in *Rejected Addresses*[36] and in Hood's *Address to Mr. Cross, of Exeter Change.* Hood's *Ode to the Cameleopard* is one of the best humorous Oriental poems of the period. Cawthorn, in *The Antiquarians*, pictures a dispute over a coin, in which one enthusiast gives his view thus:

> " 'It came,' says he, 'or I will be whipt,
> From Memphis in the Lower Egypt'."

35. *Imperium Pelagi:* Strain I.
36. See *Playhouse Musings.*

Young writes of an imaginary zealous book-collector:

> "So high the generous ardor of the man
> For Romans, Greeks, and Orientals ran."[37]

Cowper has occasion to note that linen is imported from India; and from the same country comes the cane for his sofa.

A passage of higher imaginative quality than those just given is found in Pollok's sombre *Course of Time.* In Book VII, his vision of the wonders of the resurrection day includes this somewhat startling conception:

> "The Memphian mummy, that from age to age,
> Descending, bought and sold a thousand times,
> In hall of curious antiquary stowed,
> Wrapped in mysterious weeds, the wondrous theme
> Of many an erring tale, shook off its rags;
> And the brown son of Egypt stood beside
> The European, his last purchaser."

Some of the trees of England and some of the flowers are either of Oriental origin or have Eastern associations recognized by the poets. The laurel is a "daughter of the East"; Langhorne in the *Fables of Flora* tells the reader of the Bactrian origin of the crown imperial.

There is not much evidence in the verse of our period of the presence of real Oriental persons of public note in England. Following the method used in such prose as *The Citizen of the World,* this or that poet introduces a fictitious gentleman from the East reporting his observations to the home-land. Probably Moore's fictitious letter *From Abdallah, in London, to Mohassan, in Ispahan*[38] is one of the best pieces of this type. Among the more obscure real figures are the negro boxer in Moore, and the rope-dancer "Mahomet", "said to be a Turk", in Samuel Johnson. Southey addresses an ode to a visiting dignitary from Russia, and if we include the Pelew Islands in the Orient, Bowles' poem *Abba Thule's Lament for His Son Prince Le Boo* may be mentioned. We are told that the Cashmerian heroine and the hero of Shelley's unpublished *Zeinab and Kathema* arrive in London during the story. Moore has a poem on a "beautiful East-Indian", and Lovibond writes a series of love-lyrics, of little poetic merit, to

37. *Love of Fame: Satire II.*
38. In *The Twopenny Post Bag; Letter VI.*

"an Asiatic lady" in England—a lady who causes some disturbance in the mind of an English woman friend of the poet.

The gypsy in England is a theme in poetry both romantic and realistic, appearing in "Christopher North", Crabbe, Wordsworth, *The Gypsy's Malison* of Lamb, *The Gypsy's Dirge* of Walter Scott, and in many other poets and poems. Sometimes a picturesque figure about the camp-fire at night, at other times the gypsy is a sly and tattered trickster among the young people of an English village, or a vagrant brought before the local representative of English law.

There are many examples of the theme, "the Englishman home from the Orient". Various are the gifts they bring back from the East. One returns with ill health, one with memories of captivity, many, of course, in poems of the middle ages, with the battle scars of the Crusades. A character in Praed's *Arrivals at a Watering-Place* is "always talking of Bengal". Crabbe's realistic picture of provincial English society presents several gentlemen returned from the Orient. One was a Captain who "rich from India came", bringing pearls, diamonds, costly silks and other treasures, which his will left to a feminine relative who loved to hear them praised.[39] In another passage in Crabbe[40] appears a "sick tall figure" of a man who has returned from India with wealth gained and health and spirits destroyed; who moves restlessly from place to place in his native land without gaining happiness. It will be remembered that in *The Fatal Curiosity* it is the hoard of gold and jewels Young Wilmot brings from the East which is the immediate cause of the tragedy.

The Oriental taste in England is shown in many ways in the verse of the period. Horses or other domestic pets are named "Sultan" or "Sultana"; decorations in the drawing-room and fanciful structures in garden or park are built in Oriental manner. In *Threnodia Augustalis*, Goldsmith described a place on the Thames where novelty

> "From China borrows aid to deck the scene."

There are various other references to similar matters; the fence irregular as the metrical form of the Pindaric ode, the summerhouse —kiosk, pagoda, or of fashion 'Gothic or Chinese'. In one of the balls

39. *The Parish Register: Burials.*
40. *The Borough; Letter IX.*

Praed describes, several characters are dressed in Oriental costume, and in Peacock's prose farce, *The Dilettanti*, at the opening of Act I, Scene 4, "Miss Comfit, as a Sultana, advances to the front of the stage", and Tactic enters "as a Turk". In humorous spirit Moore 'Turkifies' current politics or politicians in England; or pictures Grimaldi grimacing before the Mandarins in China.[41]

In deeper manner, the Oriental taste is revealed with reference to the literature of the East, and the English literature modeled thereon. Orientalism throughout our period was not an accident or an unconscious result. Much comment is made upon the cult in prose criticism—from which a few notes may be taken—and in the verse itself.

We are told that Collins wrote his *Eclogues* when seventeen years old, after reading the description of Persia in Salmon's *Modern History*. In later years he spoke disdainfully of the pieces, called them his "Irish Eclogues", and affirmed that "they had not in them one spark of orientalism".[42] An early critic, however, Dr. Langhorne, speaks as follows of the second eclogue: "All the advantages that any species of poetry can derive from the novelty of the subject and scenery, this eclogue possesses. The route of a camel-driver is a scene that scarce could exist in the imagination of an European, and of its attendant distress he could have no idea."[43] Nearly a century later Mangan wrote pseudo-Oriental translations because "Hafiz was more acceptable to editors than Mangan".[44] Between Collins and Mangan there is sufficient and varied evidence of the English taste for Orientalized verse. John Scott, himself an Oriental poet, gives this view in his poem *On the Ingenious Mr. Jones's Elegant Translations*:

> "The Asian Muse, a stranger fair!
> Becomes at length Britannia's care;
> And Hafiz' lays, and Sadi's strains,
> Resound along our Thames's plains.
> They sing not all of streams and bowers,
> Or banquet scenes, or social hours;
> Nor all of Beauty's blooming charms,
> Or War's rude fields, or feats of arms;
> But Freedom's lofty notes sincere,

41. See *The Twopenny Post Bag, Letter II.* and *The Fudge Family in Paris, Letter IX.*
42. Page 10 of the edition of Collins cited in the *Appendix*.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
44. Miles, vol. III, p. 456.

And Virtue's moral lore severe,
But ah! they sing for us no more!
The scarcely-tasted pleasure's o'er!
For he, the bard whose tuneful art
Can best their vary'd themes impart—
For he, alas! the task declines;
And Taste, at loss irreparable, repines.

Churchill, not so much moved by Gothicism, sentimentalism, or Orientalism, as many of his contemporaries, does not give so favorable an account in the opening lines of *The Farewell*:

"Farewell to Europe, and at once farewell
To all the follies which in Europe dwell;
To Eastern India now, a richer clime,
Richer, alas! in everything but rhyme,
The Muses steer their course; and, fond of change,
At large, in other worlds, desire to range;
Resolved, at least, since they the fool must play,
To do it in a different place, and way."

Englishmen did not need to wait till Tennyson's day to read verses on *Recollections of the Arabian Nights*. The passage on this subject in Wordsworth's *Prelude* is familiar. In *Silford Hall* Crabbe tells his readers that before Sir Walter wrote there were

". . . . fictions wild that please the boy,
Which men, too, read, condemn, reject, enjoy."

Of the library he is describing in the same poem, he says:

"Arabian Nights, and Persian Tales were there,
One volume each, and both the worse for wear."

He returns to this theme in *Master William:*

"Arabian Nights, and Persian Tales, he read,
And his pure mind with brilliant wonders fed.
The long romances, wild Adventures fired
His stirring thoughts: he felt like Boy inspired.
The cruel fight, the constant love, the art
Of vile magicians, thrilled his inmost heart."

Southey apparently has the English Oriental verse in mind when he writes in *The Retrospect*, in a spirit of reaction, perhaps—

"Oh, while well pleased the lettered traveller roams
Among old temples, palaces, and domes;
Strays with the Arab o'er the wreck of time,
Where erst Palmyra's towers arose sublime;
Or marks the lazy Turk's lethargic pride,
And Grecian slavery on Ilyssus' side,—
Oh, be it mine, aloof from public strife,
To mark the changes of domestic life,
The altered scenes where once I bore a part,
Where every change of fortune strikes the heart!"

It is curious to note how many times Wordsworth in *The Prelude* uses an Oriental standard to estimate the value of native English delights. Thus he says, that there was a time in his youth when all the glories of Eastern history or fiction "fell short, far short,

Of what my fond simplicity believed
And thought of London."

In his boyhood, the dramatic performances in the country barn pleased him more than Genii in a "dazzling cavern of romance". The natural surroundings of his early days were "more exquisitely fair" than the magnificent gardens—which he describes in true, luxuriant Oriental style—shaped for the delight of the Tartarian dynasty. At Rydal Mount he records that the English mountain spring furnished water which might have been envied by Persian kings. It almost seems that Wordsworth, having determined to devote his imagination to simple and native life, fought against the Oriental taste of the day, thereby revealing its power perhaps.

When we turn to the Oriental element in western life outside of England, we find probably a less varied account than that we have just surveyed; but one rich in interest. Cooper's *Ver-Vert* is an amusing record of an East Indian parrot among the nuns of France. In Grainger's *Sugar-Cane* and a score of other poems the character and life of the negro in the West Indies or in the United States are pictured. We have referred before to the Parthian Prince who moves amid Roman scenes, in the days of Nero, in Miss Baillie's *The Martyr*. There is a brief and quite different allusion to Eastern visitors in Italy in Rogers' account of life at Venice. "Who flocked not thither", the poet asks,—

"To celebrate her Nuptials with the Sea?
To wear the mask, and mingle in the crowd
With Greek, Armenian, Persian."[45]

A volume could doubtless be written on the English poetic treatment of the Moors in Spain. This is a frequent theme in our period, and is found in drama, lyric, and narrative. The Alhambra, the wars between Moors and Spaniards, including the achievements of the Cid, the loves between man of one race and maiden of the other, the Moorish dance and song, the relation of the Mohammedans in Spain to those in Africa, are among the specific subjects. In most poets such themes suggested a romantic interpretation; and in such a poetess as Mrs. Hemans they were among the resources of the sentimental muse. Some of the diction of Oriental derivation appearing in the verse of our period, reached England through Spain.

The Englishman of our period was a traveller, either in fancy or in the flesh; for purposes of pleasure, culture, business or religion. In *Rhymes on the Road*, Moore names Egypt, Carolina, and China, as regions where his fellow countrymen might be found, and generalizes thus:

"Go where we may—rest where we will,
Eternal London haunts us still."

It is not strange that English verse should contain many references to Englishmen in the Orient. The group is a motley one, including sailor and soldier, painter and priest, bishop and society belle.

Of the Oriental poets themselves, several visited one part or another of the Orient. Before our period began, Mrs. Montagu produced *Verses Written in the Chiosk of the British Palace, at Pera, Overlooking the City of Constantinople.* Jones subscribed several of his poems as written in India, and in *Plassey-Plain* he made amusing reference to his wife's ignorance of the native language. Byron in the East is too familiar a subject to require notice; Heber is mentioned elsewhere in this paper. "L. E. L.", living all her life in London, "had always cherished dreams of Africa", and had the dubious satisfaction of dying there.[46] But it was only

45. *Italy; XIII, St. Mark's Place.*
46. Miles, vol. VII, p. 108.

in imagination that Burns, White, Montgomery, Coleridge, Keats, Shelley, and the great majority of English poets, ever visited the Orient.

In two interesting pieces of *vers de société*[47] Hood writes of young women on the eve of their departure for India. John Logan writes of a woman whose lover "to Indian climes had roved". The Oriental travels of the hero of *Alastor* are of more serious importance in English poetry. Perhaps the best example presenting sailors in the East, aside from translations, is found in *The Shipwreck*. Paul Whitehead, in *An Occasional Song* (spoken by a stage sergeant) follows the victorious English soldier from Cape Breton to "Guardelupe" and Senegal. Praed refers to a judge in Bengal, and a character who is "rich in Canton". In *Surly Hall* this poet expresses approval of the painter Hamilton,

> "Whether his sportive canvass shows
> Arabia's sands or Zembla's snows."

John Scott, in his *Essay on Painting*, places English artists, real or imaginary, in Jamaica, by the rocks of Ulitea, and by "Nile's vast flood on Egypt's level." White of Selborne discussed the hibernation of swallows in English mud, but John Cunningham's bird of the air is

> "Winged for Memphis or the Nile."[48]

Still more fanciful is Lovibond's account of the flight of the festival spirit, weary of Europe, into the Orient; in *The Tears of Old May-Day*.

In the earlier part of our period there are in English verse a score, perhaps a hundred, references to the unknown sources of the Nile. Such reference was among the conventional items in passages on the great river. It is interesting, therefore, to note more than one later allusion to Bruce, as the discoverer of these sources. In Crabbe's *Adventures of Richard*,[49] the stay-at-home George inquires of his much-traveled brother Richard,

> "Say, hast thou, Bruce-like, knelt upon the bed
> Where the young Nile uplifts his branchy head?"

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47. *Lines to a Lady on Her Departure for India*, and *I'm Going to Bombay*.
48. In *Ode XXXIII: To the Swallow*.
49. *Tales of the Hall*; Book IV.

And it is the same dry, stern realist who writes in *Clubs and Social Meetings*:

> "When Bruce, that dauntless traveller, thought he stood
> On Nile's first rise, the fountain of the flood,
> And drank exulting in the sacred spring,
> The critics told him it was no such thing;
> That springs unnumbered round the country ran,
> But none could show him where the first began."[50]

Far more romantic, and with as much genuine insight into human nature, is Mrs. Heman's fanciful record of *The Traveller at the Source of the Nile.*

Captain Cook is another English hero whose journeys into far Eastern—or Southern—regions are rather frequently recorded in verse. Frere is one poet who mentions him, and in his second *Epistle* John Scott has a passage of eight lines, beginning

> "Such, hapless Cook! amid the southern main,
> Rose thy Taheitè's peaks and flowery plain."

Both Nelson and Casabianca at the battle of the Nile are subjects of poetic praise.

The account of the early Protestant missionary efforts of England is found chiefly in prose; but enters verse here and there. Something of the poetic quality that literature has associated with the Jesuit fathers in the wilds of America is to be credited to this or that servant of Anglicanism or Dissent. In Grahame's *Sabbath* we have a general picture of an imaginary missionary in the islands of the South; Praed's Greek poem translated into English under the title *Hindostan* is a tribute to the work of Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, Bishop of Calcutta. Heber left his own records of the East in prose and verse. Among the poems on the man or his work are Mrs. Hemáns' *To the Memory of Heber*, and Southey's *Ode on the Portrait of Bishop Heber*. The first of these two pieces is religious and reverential in spirit, scarcely Oriental; the second contains a few such lines as,

> "The Malabar, the Moor, and the Cingalese,"

and,

> "Ram boweth down,
> Creeshna and Seeva stoop;
> The Arabian Moon must wane to wax no more."

50. *The Borough; Letter X.*

It is not appropriate to our purpose to consider the verse of Protestant missions in general, or of Catholic,—as in Bowles' *Missionary*, with its resonant Latin line,

"*Eternam pacem dona, Domine.*"

James Montgomery is perhaps the poet of any note who gives this subject most attention. His *Greenland* is a missionary poem; his *Cry from South Africa* is an evangelical poem, and the missionary for whom the *Farewell* was written may, for aught the reader knows, have been bound for the Orient. Montgomery's *Daisy in India* is a sincere and simple poem on exile and home memories in the East, and is concerned with the Baptist missionary, Dr. William Carey. Patriotism is perhaps associated with religion. If that is true, we may well note here Walter Scott's prologue to *The Family Legend*, which tells us that the wild tales of "romantic Caledon" stir the heart of the exiled Scotchman,

"Whether on India's burning coasts he toil,
Or till Acadia's winter-fettered soil."

England's dead who rest in the Seven Seas make a great company. England's dead in the Orient are for the most part unrecorded in English verse, but here and there a group or an individual is memorialized by the poet—and for the poet an imaginary character may create pathos as well as a real character. Wordsworth's *Liberty* is addressed to a woman friend who died, after the piece was written, "on her way from Shalapore to Bombay, deeply lamented by all who knew her". John Wilson's *Widow* is scarcely an Oriental poem, but the husband for whom the woman mourns perished in the East:—

"For the bayonet is red with gore,
And he, the beautiful and brave,
Now sleeps in Egypt's sand."

Among the numerous poems of Mrs. Hemans on death, the funeral, and the grave, is one inspired by these lines of "Christopher North"—*The Burial in the Desert*. This poem is far more Orientalized than the one which suggested it, and contains the recurring line,

"In the shadow of the Pyramid."

Though not in verse, Macaulay's Latin epitaphs on servants of

England who died in India may be mentioned, as, in a sense, "poetic efforts".

Our present account of the English in the Orient is scant indeed in comparison with the actual historical activities. But if all of life were described in poetry, or all of English prose transformed into verse, the special function of poetry itself would probably be unfulfilled. Before it becomes a subject for poetry, says Wordsworth in the famous *Preface*, science must become "familiar", and its relations contemplated as "manifestly and palpably material to us as enjoying and suffering beings". Jones did not attempt to versify any large portion of his knowledge of the Orient. Sir James Mackintosh in his *Discourse Read at the Opening of the Literary Society of Bombay*, (November 26, 1804), said of Sir William: "He was among the distinguished persons who adorned one of the brightest periods of English literature". Perhaps "English scholarship" might have been better. The speaker then proceeded to propose a program of study for the Englishman in India, including botany, zoology, mineralogy and political economy. The address closed with these words: "On a future occasion I may have the honour to lay before you my thoughts on the principal objects of inquiry into the geography, ancient and modern, the languages, the literature, the necessary and elegant arts, the religion, the authentic history and the antiquities of India", etc. However it may be with English science and scholarship, it is safe to say that English poetry has not yet completed this program of 1804.

The English are not the only people of western Europe to appear in the Orient in English poetry. If we include the translations of Camoens, Tasso, and Ariosto made during our period, we have a host of individuals, historical or fictitious, and of epic groups, from Spain, Italy, France, and northern Europe. They are occupied in sailing about Africa, to visit and conquer India; in various Asiatic or East-European travels for pleasure or military adventure; in warring with the assembled hosts of the Saracens to rescue "*il gran Sepolcro*", with mention of which the *Gerusalemme Liberata* opens and closes. If these works are not products of English imagination, they belong to English poetry, in a liberal view, in verse and diction. Camoens and Vasco da Gama both

appear in English lyric poetry, the former in *The Last Song of Camoens*, by Bowles; the latter (along with Albuquerk and others) in Mickle's *Almada Hill*. To the themes of epic breadth, we may add that of the Napoleonic armies in Russia.

The relations of Venice to the Orient are barely suggested in the opening line of a familiar Wordsworthian sonnet:—

"Once did She hold the gorgeous east in fee."

So far as commercial relations between Venice and the Eastern Mediterranean region are concerned, perhaps no more Oriental passage could be found than this from Rogers' *Italy*:

"Who met not the Venetian?—now in Cairo;
Ere yet the Califa came, listening to hear
Its bells approaching from the Red-Sea coast;
Now on the Euxine, on the Sea of Azoph,
In converse with the Persian, with the Russ,
The Tartar; on his lowly deck receiving
Pearls from the Gulf of Ormus, gems from Bagdad,
Eyes brighter yet, that shed the light of love,
From Georgia, from Circassia. Wandering round,
When in the rich bazaar he saw displayed,
Treasures from unknown climes, away he went,
And, travelling slowly upward, drew ere-long
From the well-head, supplying all below;
Making the Imperial City of the East,
Herself, his tributary."[51]

In *Faust*, Goethe symbolized, by the marriage of Faust with Helen, the union of Gothic genius with the classical Greek. Though we have in English poetry one book of a long narrative poem dedicated to the "Genius of Afric",[52] there is perhaps no poem or passage which transcends the usual contrast between the East and the West by any thought or imagery of mystic harmony between the two. A suggestion in this direction, however, may be found, without too fanciful interpretation, in *The Bridal of Triermain*. In the third canto there is a dream of fair maidens in processional—maidens of Asia, Africa, Europe, and America. For each region there is some appropriate imagery and diction. A comparison of Scott and Blake seems strange, but in this assembling of the continents for the high purposes of poetry, there seems something

51. *Italy;* Part I, XI.
52. Grainger's *Sugar-Cane;* Book IV.

akin to the method of Blake in his geographic symbolism. First come the "Four Maids whom Afric bore", singing in the Moorish tongue of the ruins of Carthage, the Siroc of Sahara, and the spell of Dahomay. Then follow maidens of "dark-red dye", bearing palmetto baskets, and singing of the perished glory of Peru. Next enter the maidens whose faces have been tinted by the "suns of Candahar", whose Eastern pomp is aided by hennah and sumah, who are clad in the costumes of a sensuous land. Finally, appear, each representative of her native land, the daughters of France, Spain, Germany, and "merry England",—the last dressed "like ancient British Druidess". So harmonize for once, in a poet's fancy, the Celtic, Occidental, Germanic, and Oriental tones of the Romantic Movement.

CHAPTER VI.

The Orient Itself

Our poets sometimes consider "The Orient" or "The East" as a unit, without definite boundaries. Again, Asia or Africa is often presented as a unit, in a single thought or image. Sometimes Oriental reference is made in very vague manner, without any specific geographical term or terms. Yet in the body of verse as a whole, the reader is not left without abundant, if scarcely coherent, details in the poetical map of the East.

This map reaches from Sarmatia and Zembla on the north—with lines extended to the Pole—to the Cape of Good Hope and New Zealand on the south; from northeast to southwest it reaches (according to the definition for this study) from Kamchatka to Senegal and the Canary Islands. It embraces a hundred countries, almost innumerable "coasts" and islands; seas, lakes, and interiors remote from ordinary travel—from Caffraria to the Desert of Gobi. The portions drawn in clearest design are of course the more familiar sections—Arabia, India, Egypt, the Sahara, Turkey, etc. But in one passage or another this or that poet sketches in, at least in outline or in name, Sumatra, Tahiti, Siam, Madagascar, Tartary, and many another region. During our period China and Japan are relatively neglected.[53]

In the entire region about the Eastern Mediterranean the poets often follow the traditions of Biblical or classical literature; yet much of this region is modernized, given a fresh and more strictly Oriental value. The Palestine of the Crusades, the Egypt of Bruce and Nelson, are not Biblical. The isles of Greece as seen by Byron and, earlier, by the sailors of *The Shipwreck*, are not quite

53. China seems more frequently mentioned than Japan. Boyse has the following lines in *The Triumphs of Nature*. He is speaking of a pond in "the magnificent gardens at Stowe, in Buckinghamshire".

> "In which, of form Chinese, a structure lies,
> Where all her wild grotesques display surprise.
> Within Japan her glittering treasure yields,
> And ships of amber sail on golden fields."

There are of course many other references dealing more directly with China and with Japan, but they are usually rather brief.

those of Homer or Pindar; the Greece that bows beneath the Turk is not the Greece of Thucydides.

If might be of some interest, but it would be a long task, to trace out the geography, history, the social and the natural life, of each country as English verse presents it. Many sections are usually mentioned in simple and repeated formulas, suggesting our study of conventional phrases in Chapter III. Circassia is often associated with feminine beauty; Siberia with cold and wildness, though one poet describes its slow-moving caravans. The witches and the reindeer are frequent items for Lapland. Literary Russia hardly appears; or the Russia of serfs and bureaucracy. The poetic Russia of the period is that of Catherine or Peter, of cold and bears, of the Napoleonic invasion, of the conflict with the Turk, or the Russia known through its political relations with England. This statement, however, omits the work of Sir John Bowring, late in our period.[54]

The climate of the Orient, in the large sense adopted for this study, of course has little unity. To consider merely temperature, the poets give much attention to extreme cold and extreme heat, often by way of antithesis. 'From Zembla's cold to Afric's heat' is a typical phrase form. In the more southerly sections, the Caucasian Mountains or perhaps Atlas serve as symbols of cold. The emphasis, on the whole, is apparently on the heat. Such words as hot, torrid, burning, scorching, sunburnt, are frequent in descriptions of various parts of Asia and of Africa. In *The Fatal Curiosity* we read of the "eternal sultry summer" of India, and one poet writes of the "eternal dog-star" of Africa. The East in general is "the land of the sun". Associated in part with this emphasis on heat are the ideas of disease and of fertility. "Feverish" is not a rare word; pestilence as well as drouth are often mentioned. It was a "land of births", writes James Montgomery of a Southern region; and in a score of poets we read of the prolific life in various parts of the South or the East—of the multitudes of strange creatures that haunt the jungles, creep along the banks of the Nile, or fly above the coral-islands.

In topographical features, there is frequent reference, probably not always appropriate, to "groves" and to "plains"; with the

54. In prose, a translation of Karamzine's *Poor Lisa* appeared in London about 1805 (?). A review of the French translation of his *Russia* is found in the *Miscellaneous Essays* of Archibald Alison.

addition of many valleys and occasional "glens". The Gulf of Ormus, the Black Sea, and the Caspian Sea are often named, The great rivers of the East proper and of Africa are introduced in hundreds of passages—the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Ganges, the Nile, the Niger and the Gambia, the Danube and the Volga. The mountains which receive most attention are the Himalayas, the Caucasian, Atlas, and the Mountains of the Moon.

Of all the types of Eastern scenery, perhaps none is more fascinating to the imagination of the poets than the desert. It is sometimes Arabian, sometimes the Sahara, sometimes simply the generic desert. It is a region of "sand-spouts" and "sand-waves"; of drouth and staggering sunshine; of the pelican and the camel; of weary caravan, of mocking mirage and restful oasis; of the "red wing of the fierce Monsoon",[55] and again and again of death. Mrs. Hemans writes separate poems on its Flower, its Caravan, and its Burial. James Montgomery describes the mirage in these lines—praising a chieftain hero of his story:

> "Nor less benign his influence than fresh showers
> Upon the fainting wilderness, where bands
> Of pilgrims, bound for Mecca, with their camels,
> Lie down to die together in despair,
> When the deceitful *mirage*, that appeared
> A pool of water trembling in the sun,
> Hath vanished from the bloodshot eye of thirst."[56]

Sir John Bowring pictures the mirage of the Sahara in one of his religious lyrics. Better no doubt, as poetry, than most of the more elaborate descriptions is Shelley's simple if alliterative vision:—

> " . . . boundless and bare
> The lone and level sands stretch far away."

Bernardin de St. Pierre was not the only European author of the period to turn a study of plant life to imaginative purposes. Among the English poets, Crabbe followed botany as a diversion, as Cowley had done before him, and with some poetic result. Mason's *English Garden* and Langhorne's *Fables of Flora*, as well as Darwin's *Loves of the Plants* are among the titles suggestive of this taste. In the Oriental verse there are many references to Eastern flowers and trees. Among the favorite trees are the cypress, tamarind,

55. Kirke White; *Sonnet IX.*
56. *The Pelican Island;* Canto IX.

date, fig, palm, and banyan. The malignant "poison-tree" of Java exercises a kind of charm over several poets. Darwin gives it considerable space in one of his poems. Among the flowers most often mentioned are the jasmine and the rose[57]. Mrs. Hemans' *Flower of the Desert* probably pleased some readers all the more because it was given no name, though, in the author's fancy, it had a "purple bell". There is perhaps nothing in the Orientalized verse to compare with the *To a Snowdrop* of Wordsworth, or with *The Yellow Violet* of Bryant. Dr. Langhorne gives a curious bit of criticism on the fourth *Eclogue* of Collins. "Nevertheless", he writes, "in this delightful landscape there is an obvious fault: there is no distinction between the plain of Zabran, and the vale of Aly: they are both *flowery*, and consequently undiversified . . . it had not occured to [the poet] that he had employed the epithet *flowery* twice within so short a compass".[58] In the third *Eclogue*, however, Collins names the "gay-motleyed pinks and sweet jonquils", the violet and the rose, with the usual footnote to support his choice. Campbell's flowers of Numidia, in *The Dead Eagle*, are the alasum, bugloss, fennel, tulips, sunflowers, and asphodel.

The animal life introduced ranges from the coral worm, described at some length in Montgomery's *Pelican Island*, through butterflies, bats, birds, and reptiles, to the large quadrupeds—the camel, the giraffe, and the elephant. The gazelle, the antelope, the lion and the tiger are favorites, while the hyena occasionally appears. The "pard" is a quadruped of the East in the verse of Miss Baillie, Keats, and others. Keats has this simile in *Otho the Great*: "Hunted me as the Tartar does the boar". The Russian bear enters the scene at rather long intervals. The kangaroo appears in a *Fable* by Hood and its "sad note" is heard in Southey's *Botany Bay Eclogues*. The giraffe is described in one passage by Montgomery, and is the chief figure in one of Hood's poems.[59] The gazelle of *Lalla Rookh* will be remembered. The zebra appears in Keats and in Wells; and Shelley places the llama in India. To Crabbe, as we have seen, a portion of the East is the "far land of crocodiles and apes"; but in general the near relatives of man do not receive much attention. Perhaps for historical reasons, the

57. See also *supra*, p. 48.
58. Edition of Collins named in the *Appendix*, I, A; p. 137.
59. *Ode to the Cameleopard.*

words "baboon", "chimpanzee", "gorilla" and the like are rare words, if found at all, in the English verse of our period. This passage from Miss Baillie may be considered rather exceptional:

> " 'Twill be as though a troop of mowing monkeys,
> With antic mimic motions of defiance,
> Should front the brindled tiger and his brood."[60]

Among the birds given most attention are the "locust-bird", the crocodile bird, the vulture, and in particular, the pelican, the ostrich, the bird of paradise, and the nightingale. The "desert pelican" is a phrase of Keble's, and this species is given much attention not only in Montgomery's poem, but also in *Thalaba*. The albatross is doubtless nowhere else so emphasized as in *The Ancient Mariner*, but it is found in this or that poem in a setting more strictly Oriental. In *Lalla Rookh*, among the birds are the blue pigeons of Mecca, the "thrush of Indostan", and the Indian grosbeak.

Shelley seems somewhat fond of the word "snake", and he introduces a poetic word in "cobra-di-capel". Hood reminds the lady departing for India that in that country,

> " . . . the serpent dangerously coileth,
> Or lies at full length like a tree."

The crocodile of the English poets is the "river-dragon", or the "devil-beast". He is king in Southey's fancied city of Crocodilople. Beddoes devoted a sonnet to it, and places the hummingbird safely in its "iron jaws". One poet honors our country by naming the "American crocodile". Associated also with the Nile is a serpent in Wells' *Joseph and His Brethren*. Among the curses wherewith Phraxanor curses Joseph is this:

> " . . . . May the huge snake
> That worships on the Nile, enring and crush thee!"[61]

A review of the numerous passages on the camel and the elephant would show many interesting details of imaginative treatment. The 'snort' of the camel is probably one of the strangest animal sounds to be found in the verse we are studying. Jones, in *Solima*, makes the camels 'bound o'er the lawn like the sportful fawn'. In the play just referred to they are found "dreaming in

60. *The Bride*, I, 3.
61. II, 3.

the sun". The following somewhat curious passage may be quoted from an obscure poem:

> "The hungry traveller in the dreary waste
> From the slain camel shares a rich repast:
> While parched with thirst, he hails the plenteous well,
> Found in the stomach's deep capacious cell."[62]

The elephant in London was briefly noticed in Chapter V. In his native regions he is presented in a variety of ways. Hood's young lady who is going to Bombay remarks that "elephants are horses there". In Miss Baillie's *The Bride* there are two references to the human body trampled under an elephant's feet, as well as a vigorous description of the clearing of a path through the forest by an elephant's supple trunk. One of the most original images is found in Montgomery, with reference to the dead body of the great beast:—

> "Bees in the ample hollow of his skull
> Piled their wax-citadels and stored their honey."[63]

For the sake of comparison of passages on the same theme, these two quotations may be given, the first from Montgomery, the second from Milman:

> "The enormous elephant obeyed their will,
> And, tamed to cruelty with direst skill,
> Roared for the battle, when he felt the goad,
> And his proud lord his sinewy neck bestrode,
> Through crashing ranks resistless havoc bore,
> And writhed his trunk, and bathed his tusks in gore."[64]

> "As in the Oriental wars where meet
> Sultan and Omrah, under his broad tower
> Moves stately the huge Elephant, a shaft
> Haply casts down his friendly rider, wont
> To lead him to the tank, whose children shared
> With him their feast of fruits: awhile he droops
> Affectionate his loose and moaning trunk;
> Then in his grief and vengeance bursts, and bears
> In his feet's trampling rout and disarray
> To either army, ranks give way, and troops
> Scatter, while, swaying on his heaving back
> His tottering tower, he shakes the sandy plain."[65]

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62. Cambridge: *The Scribleriad*; Book I.
63. *The Pelican Island*; Canto VI. The whole passage is interesting.
64. *The World before the Flood*; Canto VII.
65. *Samor, Lord of the Bright City*; Book XI.

The last selection is from a poem of Saxon England, the "Bright City" of the title being Gloucester.

Anthropological details are not to be expected in this period, even if they could be given with poetic result. For the most part the poets confine themselves to color and to general characteristics of hair and eyes. One does not read of 'little yellow people', though Walter Scott writes of the hue of "golden glow" caused by the "suns of Candahar".[66] But such terms as sable, sooty, black, swart, swarthy, and dark-skinned are in frequent use. Macauley gives us the phrase, "Syria's dark-browed daughters".[67] The idea of the special beauty of the Oriental women, as well as of the houris and peris is not rarely introduced. Lloyd has a four-line passage on the feet of the Chinese ladies, ill adapted for pedestrianism,[68] but Moore, in *The Veiled Prophet*, refers more courteously to "the small, half-shut glances of Kathay".

Among social groups most often noticed, are bands of thieves and pirates, the women of the harem, the members of the caravan, the Chaldean star-watchers, the crowds about the car of Juggernaut, the priests and people in the temple, shepherds, merchants, armies on battlefield or in camp. In a larger sweep, one finds as groups unified by imagination, the "children of Brama", and the inhabitants of all the Moslem world. The idea of extensive populations is frequently met. Johnson actually gives some figures for a number of regions, in his *Septem Ætates*. Such expressions as thousands, tens of thousands, myriads, "million-peopled", as well as horde, tribe, clan, etc., do not seem accidental in the Oriental verse. These social groups, larger or smaller, are headed by "Sophy, Sultan, and Czar", by Pharaohs, caliphs, satraps, omrahs, kings and queens. Not very many historical persons of note step forth from the masses. The list includes Attila, Semiramis, Zenobia, the False Prophet and some of his successors, Confucius,[69] a few Persian poets, and other names found in Greek, Latin, or Biblical records. Harte mentions Mesva, "an Arabian physician well skilled in botany";[70] and Crabbe mentions Fasil and Michael as

66. See *supra*, p. 68.
67. In *The Batile of the Lake Regillus.*
68. *The Cobbler of Cripplegate's Letter.*
69. The association of names in this couplet from Boyse's *On the Death of Sir John James, Bart.* is interesting:
"To practice more than Epictetus taught,
Or Cato acted, or Confucius thought."
70. In *Eulogius; or, The Charitable Mason.*

evil Abyssinians of his own day. Kosciusko belongs to the roll of heroes in English poetry, along with William Tell and George Washington.

The social life is, except for a few longer poems like *Lalla Rookh*, represented in fragments, not very easily brought together to fashion a clear picture. Much is said of war, of worship, of commercial life. Something is given of life on the sea, in the forest, in city streets. In the period which produced Walter Scott and Planché it is natural to find no little attention given to Oriental costume. Southward, we find the nearly nude barbarians of Africa, and the "haik" of the Algerians. Farther North and East, we learn something of capote, turban, shawl, horse-tails, sheepskin caps, and various priestly robes. Many rich costumes are described; of silk, perhaps, and decorated with "gems fit for a Sultan's diadem". The henna of feminine toilet is rather often mentioned, and occasionally the sumah. There are references to the veils of the Turkish women, and to the black masks of the Arabian women. As to military armor and tactics, the work of the elephant is perhaps the most characteristic novelty. Lance and sword seem to be carried into Oriental warfare by the imagination of English poets, and the Parthian bow and arrow, along with some other weapons, are to be credited to the traditions of Biblical or classical literature rather than to modern knowledge of the East. The scimitar is a favorite of the poets, however, and the jerrid and the ataghan are among the weapons honored by footnotes. The great Eastern hunt, in which game of various species is driven gradually into the waiting corral by a circle of hunters, is described in several passages.[71] The Moorish dances of Spain and some of the dances of the East itself are noticed in this or that passage.

The life of the home is not prominent, though domestic life of one type or another is presented in *The Curse of Kehama*, *Thalaba*, *Lalla Rookh*, and other poems. The relation of father and daughter in the two chief Oriental poems of Southey is presumably modeled on the good old English standards in large degree. In Byron, there is probably a closer approach to the actual conditions of the East. There are comparatively few descriptions of the interiors of private homes. Life in the tent, by soldier, merchant or exile, may be viewed to some extent as a substitute for the life of parlor

71. See, for example, *The Prelude*, Book X.

and kitchen. At least it was less familiar to the majority of English readers. It is interesting to note that the "black tents" of *Sohrab and Rustum* are not the first of their kind to appear in English verse; for we find the "sable tents" of the Arabians in John Scott's *Zerad.*

The art of the Orient may be noted chiefly with respect to language, literature, and architecture, with very brief mention of music and painting.

So far as romantic interest is concerned, the ancient symbolic characters of Eastern language may correspond with the runes of the North—both are poetic subjects in our period. These lines of Montgomery, like various early passages on the hidden sources of the Nile, emphasize recent progress in our knowledge of the Orient:

> "Egypt's grey piles of hieroglyphic grandeur,
> That have survived the language which they speak,
> Preserving its dead emblems to the eye,
> Yet hiding from the mind what these reveal."[72]

Perhaps no Oriental language receives such tribute as Jonson gave to "Latin, queen of tongues",[73] or Milton to Italian at the close of one of his sonnets:—

> "*Questa è lingua di cui si vanta Amore.*"

Jones gives an amusing account, in *Plassey-Plain*, of Lady Jones' experience in learning the native tongue or tongues in India. The elephants and perroquets were sympathetic with her, the poem states, but knew no western language; and as for the "patient dromedaries", "Arabic was all they talked". Mrs. Montagu, according to her own account, was in somewhat the same linguistic isolation in Turkey. On March 16, 1718, she wrote from Constantinople, "The memory can retain but a certain number of images; and 'tis as impossible for one human creature to be master of ten different languages, as to have in perfect subjection ten different kingdoms . . . in Pera they speak Turkish, Greek, Hebrew, Armenian, Arabic, Persian, Russian, Sclavonian, Wallachian, German, Dutch, French, English, Italian, Hungarian; and what is worse, there are ten of these languages spoken in my own family". Cotton—himself a doctor—speaking of a medical prescription,

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72. *The Pelican Island;* Canto II.
73. *A Fit of Rhyme against Rhyme.*

says that 'it was Arabic to you and me'. For the advantages of knowing Arabic when among the Arabians, one may turn to Orlando's account in Hoole's translation of Ariosto.[74]

Some of the Oriental writers mentioned in English verse are fictitious. Omar Khayyam, it seems, was scarcely known in England during the earlier part of our period. Hafiz, Saadi, and a few other Eastern poets are mentioned. The works attributed to Confucius are rarely noticed in our verse, though an English translation by Joshua Marshman appeared in 1809. The chief emphasis is probably upon the *Koran*, from which various ideas are wrought into English verse, and on *Arabian Nights*. The *Vedas* are occasionally mentioned, and a number of translations from the Sanskrit, or related Indian languages, were made by Jones and others. Some passages referring to the *Arabian Nights* have already been noted. One more may be added, though it is not in very poetic language:—

> "It minds one of that famous Arab tale
> (First to expand the struggling notions
> Of my child-brain) in which the bold poor man
> Was checked for lack of 'Open Sesame'."[75]

A very important art of the Orient, according to our poets, is architecture. There are in our period no Oriental poems to rival the *Ode on a Grecian Urn* or *On Seeing the Elgin Marbles*; none like Rossetti's *Burden of Nineveh*; but there are many passages and at least one poem of some note on the pyramids. Orientalized poetry is full of temples, fanes, domes, mosques, minarets, pagodas, kiosks, and palaces. These structures are in general to the Oriental taste what the medieval castle was to Gothic taste[76] or the "druidical circle" to the Celtic. Now in the background, now in the foreground, is the gigantic car of Juggernaut, wreathed with flowers, crushing its victims to death. In the temples are grim forms of huge, misshapen idols. On the desert sands are the prostrate statue of the tyrant and the crumbled walls of palaces. The Alhambra receives a genuine Oriental description in Mrs. Hemans' *Abencerrage*. Elsewhere one finds reference to the great temple at Mecca, to the sacred stone and Zemzem-well. There

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74. Book XXIII. Page 199 of the edition cited in *Appendix*.
75. Arthur Hallam: *Meditative Fragments*, VI.
76. Yet in *The Bride*, out of fifteen scenes we have eight in or before a castle. There are two castles in this play; that of Rasinga and that of Samarkoon.

are several brief references to the great wall of China. Hardly any type of Oriental passage is more frequent than that which exhibits the pathos of the great Eastern ruins—the ruins of Babylon, Palmyra, Memphis, Carthage, or Eastern ruins in general. Sometimes there is a definite didactic touch, as in this line from Boyse's *Retirement*:—

"And what Palmyra is,—Versailles may be."

Oriental painting, so far as our verse notices it, seems to be done largely by Englishmen. That the art of the Chinese painters was not always fully appreciated is clear from this line of Young's:—

"The point they aim at is deformity."[77]

The hanging gardens of Babylon are sometimes noted, and minor "grove" and even "lawn" appear now and then. Lovers of *Kubla Khan* will remember the

" . . . gardens bright with sinuous rills
Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree;"

by the borders of Alph. Wordsworth in *The Prelude*[78] has a much more elaborate description of the gardens of Gehol, fashioned for the delight of the Tartarian dynasty.

Among musical instruments are the timbrel and the psaltery, suggesting the Biblical influence. The lute is in Oriental verse as well as in the Elizabethan lyric. More strictly Oriental are the favorite atabal, the "gong-peal and cymbal-clank", the rebeck (though this is found in *L'Allegro*), and the bells upon the dancer's ankles.[79] Various more or less musical chants, battle-cries, and lamentations of mourners are introduced; the "tecbir" is heard in quite a number of poems. In *The Bride of Abydos* one finds the "Ollahs", the call of the muezzin, the "wul-wulleh", and the "hymn of fate" by the Koran-chanters. The fact that a number of poems are written, or announced as written, for Eastern "airs" may indicate some interest in Oriental music. Moore paid considerable attention to musical matters in *Lalla Rookh*; not neglecting the customary explanations of footnotes. One learns from him something of the pastoral reed and the Abyssinian trumpet; of

77. *Love of Fame, the Universal Passion; Satire* VI.
78. Book VIII.
79. All the instruments named in this sentence are found in *The Vision of Don Roderick*, stanzas 19 and 25.

"kerna" and "syrinda"; of the bells on the waists or ankles of the dancers. He tells us (quoting, as often) that "The Easterns used to set out on their longer voyages with music". The song of Zelica sung to the lute is like that of the dying bulbul. "There's a bower of roses" is sung

"In the pathetic mode of Isfahan."

The mythology of the Eastern peoples appeals to the imagination of the English poets; their religions awake the fancy of some, arouse the missionary zeal and the sense of English rectitude and sanity in others. A religious element enters into some of the wars and racial antagonisms considered in our verse. In his review of *Lalla Rookh*, Jeffrey has this to say of the ethics of the great world lying beyond the borders of Europe: "It may seem a harsh and presumptuous sentence, to some of our Cosmopolite readers; but from all we have been able to gather from history or recent observation, we should be inclined to say that there was no sound sense, firmness of purpose, or principled goodness, except among the natives of Europe, and their genuine descendants".

The time was not ripe for a study of comparative religion, or for a World's Congress of Religions. Yet in Shelley and others we have ideas far more progressive than that just given from the famous critic. If Shelley is somewhat disdainful of social religion in general, he limits his disdain to no one particular embodiment of it. He writes in one line of

"Seeva, Buddh, Foh, Jehovah, God, or Lord."[80]

In another poem he wrote:

"And Oromaze, Joshua, and Mahomet,
Moses, and Buddh, Zerdusht, and Brahm, and Foh."[81]

Southey, while professing in his prefaces the orthodox hostility to Oriental religions, reveals considerable beauty in some aspects of them. In many poems, however, it is the horrible that is emphasized.

The Asiatic and African religions are often considered in a very general way, under such conceptions as superstition, heathendom, idolatry, paganism, and the like. More specifically, the chief

80. *Queen Mab;* VII.
81. *The Revolt of Islam;* X, 31.

faiths introduced are sun-worship, the Egyptian worship of animals, Buddhism, and Mohammedanism. Confucianism receives little attention in the verse of our period, and it is doubtful if Shinto is even mentioned. Certain Egyptian gods are often named—Apis, Anubis, Isis, and Osiris. The gods of India to whom Jones writes hymns include Bhavani, Camdeo, Durga, Ganga, Indra, Lacshmi, Narayena, Sereswaty, and Surya. The East Indian ascetics are introduced in a number of passages, and the "devoted Bride of the fierce Nile" appears in *Lalla Rookh*. In many poems the car of Juggernaut is pictured, and the suttee rebuked or pitied. Much that is poetically delightful in Eastern religion, however, is given to English readers. The peris, houris, and glendoveers are perhaps as pleasing as the fairies of Celtic lore, and certainly less grim than Woden, Thor, and the Valkyries, made familiar by the poets of the Gothic Renaissance.

Apart from Southey and Moore, the chief emphasis is probably upon Mohammedanism—as a subject for English verse, less novel than the ancient faiths of Persia, Egypt, and India. Mohammed is the "false prophet". Much is taken from the *Koran*; ridicule or poetic approval is given to the Mohammedan paradise. Polygamy, sensuality, the vow of temperance, the cruelty of the bigot, are among the themes. "The Turk" was often a term in an expression of reproach including the Papist and the Jew. In a moment of satirical humor an English poet might write in such fashion as this:

> "The sage Mahometans have ever paid
> Distinguished honours to the fool and mad";[82]

or this:

> "That every Mussulman was killed in battle,
> A fate most proper for such heathen cattle,
> Who do not pray to God our way."[83]

To return a moment to the farther East, and, once more, to Miss Baillie's *Bride*. In that dramatic poem we find these interesting passages; on idolatry in general, on transmigration (not an uncommon theme), and on Nirvana, a rather rare theme in our period:—

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82. Cambridge: *The Scribleriad;* Book I.
83. Wolcott: *Peter's Pension.*

"Like a dressed idol in its carved alcove,
A thing of silk and gems and cold repose."[84]

"When in the form of antelope or loorie
She wends her way to Boodhoo."[85]

"Even like Niwane, when the virtuous soul
Hath run, through many a change, its troubled course."[86]

Hood's humor does not fail him when he chances to write of the suttee:—

"Go where the Suttee in her own soot broileth."[87]

One finds a much more sombre treatment of this theme in these passages, from Montgomery and Bowles respectively:

"The pyre, that burns the aged Bramin's bones
Runs cold in blood, and issues living groans,
When the whole Haram with the husband dies,
And demons dance around the sacrifice."[88]

". . . . on Ganges' banks
Still superstition hails the flame of death.
Behold, gay dressed, as in her bridal tire,
The self-devoted beauteous victim slow
Ascend the pile where her dead husband lies:
She kisses his cold cheeks, inclines her breast
On his, and lights herself the fatal pile
That shall consume them both!"[89]

84. *The Bride*; I, 1.
85. *Ibid.*; III, 2.
86. *Ibid.*; I, 2.
87. *Lines to a Lady on Her Departure for India.*
88. *Verses to the Memory of the Late Richard Reynolds*; III.
89. *The Spirit of Discovery*; Book V.

CHAPTER VII.

Poetic Values In English Orientalism

This chapter attempts to give a brief summary of the chief psychological and aesthetic reactions of English poetry in our period upon the Orient and the Oriental taste. In part, the chapter may serve as a review of the preceding pages. First may be noted some values which represent, in the main, the characteristic spirit of the Eighteenth Century; and secondly, those which represent, on the whole, the spirit of the Romantic Movement.

Among the signs of the Eighteenth Century spirit are satire, parody, emphasis on common sense and reason, artificiality, and didacticism. In the earlier part of our period, a satirical spirit which touches Oriental matters at times is found in Cambridge's *Scribleriad* and in the verse of "Peter Pindar". A humorous treatment of Warren Hastings appears in *The Rolliad*. Parody of Orientalized verse is found in *Rejected Addresses*, *The Anti-Jacobin*, and in many detached poems. Among the individual poems parodied by one humorist or another were *The Curse of Kehama*, *Kubla Khan*, *Lalla Rookh*, *The Giaour*, *The Destruction of Sennacherib*, *Casabianca*, and *Abou ben Adhem*.

An interest in novel information is apparent in the formidable array of footnotes which accompany the longer Oriental poems, in prefaces, introductions, and in numerous essays. The early Nineteenth Century essayists—Jeffrey, Macaulay, Mackintosh, Talfourd, Sydney Smith, and others—gave considerable attention to the natural and social conditions in the Orient proper, and in Africa and Australia. A semi-scientific interest in the natural history of the East appears in the verse of Erasmus Darwin and others. The Eighteenth Century poets were fond of writing on such abstract themes as Disease, Health, Superstition, Commerce, Navigation, Taste, Liberty, etc., and it is not surprising to find them again and again drawing upon the Orient for some of their

material. Reflections on current European conditions or on life in general were sometimes emphasized by lessons taken from the East. Lyttelton attempts to arouse England to battle for the liberties of Europe with the warning,

> "Lo! France, as Persia once, o'er every land
> Prepares to stretch her all-oppressing hand."[90]

If the elephant was an interesting theme for romantic observation, it could also be utilized for didactic purposes, as this passage (antedating our period) from Thomson's *Summer* indicates:

> "O truly wise! with gentle might endowed,
> Though powerful, not destructive. Here he sees
> Revolving ages sweep the changeful earth,
> And empires rise and fall; regardless he
> Of what the never-resting race of men
> Project: thrice happy! could he 'scape their guile,
> Who mine, from cruel avarice, his steps;
> Or with the towery grandeur swell their state,
> The pride of kings! or else his strength pervert,
> And bid him rage amid the mortal fray,
> Astonished at the madness of mankind."

The Romantic enthusiasm for the remote was to some extent chilled by the home-loving patriotism of the English character and by a realistic suspicion that not all is gold that glitters—in the distance. There are various poems and passages expressing the home-sickness of one whom fate has carried far over seas. Goldsmith's emigrants in *The Deserted Village* are not the only ones who leave the British Isles with a sense of loss. In *The Sabbath*, Grahame writes thus of the Scotchman exiled in the Southern seas:

> "What strong mysterious links enchain the heart
> To regions where the morn of life is spent!
> In foreign lands, though happier be the clime,
> Though round our board smile all the friends we love,
> The face of nature wears a stranger's look."

At the end of his imaginary *Voyage Round the World*, Montgomery returns home with no little rejoicing:—

> "Now to thee, to thee, I fly,
> Fairest isle, beneath the sky,
> To my heart, as in mine eye.

90. *To Mr. Glover: On His Poem of Leonidas.* (1734.)

I have seen them, one by one,
Every shore beneath the sun,
And my voyage now is done.

While I bid them all be blest,
Britain is my home, my rest;
—Mine own land! I love thee best."

If the sturdy, persistent realism of Crabbe sees much that is sordid in the English village, it is not deceived by the poetic praises of distant regions. Witness this passage in *Edward Shore*:

" 'Tis thus a sanguine reader loves to trace
The Nile forth rushing on his glorious race;
Calm and secure the fancied traveller goes,
Through sterile deserts and by threat'ning foes;
He thinks not then of Afric's scorching sands,
Th' Arabian sea, the Abyssinian bands;
Fasils and Michaels, and the robbers all,
Whom we politely chiefs and heroes call:
He of success alone delights to think,
He views that fount, he stands upon the brink,
And drinks a fancied draught, exulting so to drink."

The common sense of Gifford rebels against the obscure and artificial style in which some reports of foreign lands are given to the English stay-at-home, in an interesting passage opening with the lines,

"Lo! Beaufoy tells of Afric's barren sand
In all the flowery phrase of fairy land",

and closing with the line,

"And call for Mandeville, to ease my head."[91]

We have already indicated John Foster's opinion of the *Ramayuna*.[92] His disapproval of Indian architecture was equally emphatic. The buildings of Hindostan are "fantastic, elaborate, and decorated to infinity . . . . there is device, and detail, and ramification, and conceit, and fantasy, to the absolute stupifaction of the beholder." The standards by which he condemns this confused Eastern architecture are found not in English but in Grecian architecture, with its "harmonious simplicity".[93]

91. *The Baviad.*
92. *Supra.* p. 41.
93. Review of Daniell's *Oriental Scenery.*

The Romantic poet, at least in his Romantic moods, spoke otherwise. The Orient, like the Occident, and with some advantages over the latter, offered him that escape from the local, the familiar, the prosaic, that flight into the remote and the unknown which his heart desired. The Romantic critic understood the situation. "Passion is lord of infinite space", wrote Hazlitt, "and distant objects please because they border on its confines, and are moulded by its touch . . . . . Distance of time has much the same effect as distance of place".[94] To Kirke White, "The distant prospect always seems more fair."[95] Keats sings,

> "Ever let the Fancy roam,
> Pleasure never is at home."[96]

Coleridge gives us this couplet in *Christabel*:

> "She was most beautiful to see,
> Like a lady of a far countrée."[97]

Moore voices somewhat the same conception in quite a different manner in these lines sent home from the new world:

> "Oh, Lady! these are miracles, which man,
> Caged in the bounds of Europe's pigmy plan,
> Can scarcely dream of; which his eyes must see,
> To know how beautiful this world can be!"[98]

The sense of space and of change may be gained by rapid movement; and it seems no accident that in the longer Oriental narratives there is found something of the "Glory of Motion"—a restless passing to and fro in place of the stable abiding supposed to represent the typical English character. Southey did not travel very extensively, and he never saw the banks of the Susquehanna of which he dreamed; but in *Thalaba* his imagination produced an almost constant and phantasmagoric shifting of scenes. Mrs. Shelley records that she and her husband were very fond of traveling, and would have travelled much more extensively than they did if circumstances had permitted. But following his hero in Alastor, Shelley was "on the go" through most of the poem. Simple little journeys to France or Spain or Italy did not satisfy

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94. *Table Talk: Why Distant Objects Please.*
95. *From a Fragment* ("The western gale," etc.).
96. *To Fancy.*
97. *Christabel*; Part I.
98. *Epistle IX . . . . From the Banks of the River St. Lawrence.*

the craving for change in the true poet of the Romantic Movement.

An example of this restlessness of fancy, almost morbid in this case perhaps, is found in the dreams Kirke White had of his final resting place. In a mood of quiet English feeling he could write of a commonplace English burial-ground,

> "Here would I wish to sleep.—This is the spot
> Which I have long marked out to lay my bones in;
> . . . . . .
> Beneath this yew I would be sepulchred.
> It is a lovely spot!" etc.[99]

At another time the Gothic taste assails him, and he answers its demand thus:

> "Lay me in the Gothic tomb,
> In whose solemn fretted gloom
> I may lie in mouldering state,
> With all the grandeur of the great."[100]

Once again, his craving for something more remote, more unfamiliar, more wild, finds expression in these lines:

> "Or that my corse should, on some desert strand,
> Lie stretched beneath the Simoom's blasting hand."[101]

"Distance of time has much the same effect as distance of place." Occasionally the antiquity of South American civilization is expressed in English verse of our period; but it is to the Orient that the poet naturally turned to find remoteness of space and remoteness of time combined. So far as poetry was concerned, Asia was the cradle of the human race; and the ruins of Egypt were far older than the medieval castle, Roman road, or the druidical circle of England. In the diction of the Orientalized verse terms of antiquity are common. There are numerous such phrases as "shattered with age", "antique marble", and "ancient lore". Egypt is "old" and "hushed", "ancient", "eldest" and "dead"; she is the "motherland of all the arts", and the "land of memory". One poet at least writes definitely of "India's memories". It is not only human culture that is old—the astronomy of Chaldea, the commerce of Phoenicia, the pyramids and hieroglyphics of Egypt, the mythology of India—but even nature herself seems to

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99. *Lines Written in Wilford Church-yard.*
100. *Thanatos.*
101. *Clifton Grove.*

imagination older in a land humanly old. One reads of the "old Ganges", the "old Euphrates". Beside the charm of the merely remote, in space or in time, the Romantic poet voiced the appeal of the immeasurable, the inaccessible, the unmastered. That element of the formless and the void in Oriental life which so offended Foster was often a source of delight to Shelley, to Byron, and to many lesser poets. To note the diction again, such words as vast, vasty, enormous, sumless, horde, cloud, (for a group of people), host, millions, are frequent. Among the Miltonic negatives characteristic of this mood are "impenetrable", "immeasureable", "invisible", "insatiate". It is largely this aspect of the Romantic Movement which finds such severe condemnation in Paul Elmer More. His judgment is that "Romanticism is a radical confusion of the unlimited desires and the infinite inner check. In its essential manifestation it is thus a morbid and restless intensification of the personal emotions".[102]

There was a charm for many English imaginations in the very horrors, the very evils, strange and brutal and vast, which a knowledge of the East revealed. If one chooses to select such matters from English Oriental verse and combine them, one may witness a weird procession of terrible images. There pass before the reader, mutes and eunuchs, captives and crowds of half-naked slaves; the car of Juggernaut, crushing human bodies beneath it:

> "Beneath the creaking axle the red flood
> Gushes unceasing; scattered on the stones
> Lie crushed and mangled bones;
> Through slaughter and through blood
>
> The chariot of the god—the dark god—reels;
> And laughter—shrill unnatural laughter—rings
> As each mad victim springs
> To meet the murderous wheels."[103]

In the background are seen the ugly form of the poison-tree, the bodies of those who died from thirst in the desert, and a swarm of

> "Afric's black, lascivious, slothful breed."[104]

The scene changes to the abodes of evil beyond death, and amid terrifying lights, an infernal storm of meteors and hailstones, the

102. *The Drift of Romanticism;* p. 270.
103. Praed: *Hindostan.*
104. Young: *Imperium Pelagi;* Strain V.

stench of sulphurous clouds and the din of lash and hammer, rises the vague, malignant form of Azyoruca, with her thousand grasping arms.[105]

There is, according to Ruskin, "a strange connection between the reinless play of the imagination, and a sense of the presence of evil."[106] "Southern Asia, in general", wrote De Quincey in his *Confessions*, "is the seat of awful images and associations". Not only the terrors of Asia, but the African crocodile, and the Malay, affecting the abnormal dreams of De Quincey, affected English literature. Perhaps nothing in the verse of our period can rival his prose imagery of Oriental horrors.

These terrors appear even in the aesthetic imagination of Keats. In *Isabella* the ears of the Ceylon pearl diver "gushed blood". More characteristic, however, for this poet, is such a mingling of the awful with the beautiful as one finds in these lines from *The Cap and Bells* (stanza 44):

> "She was born at midnight in an Indian wild;
> Her mother's screams with the striped tiger's blent,
> While the torch-bearing slaves a halloo sent
> Into the jungles; and her palanquin,
> Rested amid the desert's dreariment," etc.

The name of Keats suggests another phase of Oriental verse; that concerned with the luxury of the senses. In Keats himself one may find such passages as these:

> "Manna and dates, in argosy transferred
> From Fez; and spiced dainties, every one,
> From silken Samarcand to cedared Lebanon."[107]

> "I saw Osirian Egypt kneel adown
> Before the vine-wreath crown!
> I saw parched Abyssinia rouse and sing
> To the silver cymbals' ring!
> I saw the whelming vintage hotly pierce
> Old Tartary the fierce!
> The kings of Ind their jewel-sceptres vail
> And from their treasures scatter pearled hail."[108]

The delight of the senses dominates most of the Oriental flower

105. *The Curse of Kehama;* Canto XXIII.
106. *Modern Painters;* Part IV, Chapter 6.
107. *The Eve of St. Agnes;* stanza 30.
108. *Endymion;* Book IV.

passages, fruit passages, and jewel passages. There is appeal to the sense of taste in the frequent mention of cinnamon, cloves, coffee, and Persian wines. For the sense of touch there are silken garments, soft rugs, and the hard polished surfaces of gems. Sounds range from the tinkle of lutes to the war-shouts of Moslem armies. For scents there are the delicate perfumes of the rose, and of frankincense, the odors borne by winds that pass by Arabian groves or the cedars of Lebanon, and the pungent odors from the animals of the jungle. In the diction of Sir William Jones the adjectives "golden", "silver", and "silken" are in steady service. His color vocabulary includes such words as "crimson", "saffron", and "roseate". He is fond of all that dazzles, or glows, or gleams, or glitters, or sparkles, or blazes. In many poets one reads of the wealth of the mines of Golconda, of the pearls of Ceylon and the gold of Ophir, of costly copies of the *Koran*, of richly decorated armor, of luxurious temples and palaces. These values from the Orient are not new or newly discovered in our period. Langhorne writes of the Song of Solomon, "This beautiful and luxuriant marriage pastoral of Solomon, is the only perfect form of the Oriental eclogue that has survived the ruins of time", etc.[109] Medieval literature had its Oriental luxury as well as its asceticism. The Virgin Mary is praised in extravagant terms of the senses in some of the English religious dramas. According to the Minnesinger Konrad of Würzburg, she was "exalted like the cypress in Zion and the cedar on Lebanon; . . . her sweet fragrance is pleasanter than balsam and musk".[110] This note of sensuous and often unrestrained luxury, sometimes passing into a "barbaric splendor", was more or less offensive not only to the Puritan, but also to the classicist. Perhaps there is no other note so distinctive of Orientalism in English poetry, if Orientalism is considered as a *style*, and not as a "field".

The humanitarian interest of the early Nineteenth Century found satisfaction in three closely related Orientalized themes—the hatred of tyranny, the love of liberty, and the spirit of service. The English poets often considered the East as a region of slavery. Superstition and the cruelty of monarchs oppressed all those weak in mind or body. The submission of Greece to the Turk was not only a sentimental subject, but a practical, political, and ethical

109. Edition of Collins cited in *Appendix;* p. 129.
110. See Hosmer; p. 101.

interest. If Byron died for the cause of freedom, so, in other ways, did some of the reformers and the servants of the Church. Poems and passages on the horrors of the slave-trade are numerous, and written with enthusiasm for reform. The tributes to Bishop Heber and Bishop Middleton seem inspired by genuine affection and approval. Of the work of Middleton in India, Praed writes,

> "Soon, at his bidding, Love, the beauteous child,
> Returned; rich plenty blessed the land's increase;
> Staid Order, gentle Peace,
> Twin-born of Justice, smiled."[111]

In many poets the love of liberty was stronger than national patriotism. In *The Warning Voice* Southey claims that it was England who began the redemption of Africa, who brought "peace and equity" to India; but Campbell does not hesitate to give severe criticism of England's management in India. The tenth avatar of Brama will occur,

> "To pour redress on India's injured realm."[112]

Again, Coleridge, in *France: An Ode,* expresses love for England only in so far as she stood for liberty among all peoples. In an early poem, written within our period, Tennyson gives in his gentle manner a clear expression of the same spirit. If England should cease to be the guardian of the nations, then,

> "Tho' Power should make from land to land
> The name of Britain trebly great—
> Tho' every channel of the State
> Should fill and choke with golden sand—
>
> Yet waft me from the harbor-mouth,
> Wild wind! I seek a warmer sky,
> And I will see before I die
> The palms and temples of the South."[113]

For him there was no need. The palms and temples of the South remained mere delights of imagination. He lived to write with pride, not even yet without the warning note of one who loved liberty before country, of

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111. *Hindostan.*
112. *The Pleasures of Hope;* Part I.
113. "*You ask me why, though ill at ease.*"

"Our ocean-empire with her boundless homes
For ever-broadening England, and her throne
In our vast Orient . . ."[114]

114. *The Idylls of the King: To the Queen.*

APPENDIX

I. Bibliographical Notes

A. Poems and Passages

The following pages gives the chief data on which this study is based. All the verse for which titles are given has been examined, unless the title is enclosed in brackets. No attempt has been made to cover the entire field of English verse between 1740 and 1840. Of the dramas, particularly, only a few have been reviewed. Though Miss Conant's work is mainly concerned with prose, she names a few poems not accessible for this study. It is believed, however, that sufficient verse has been examined to justify the arrangement, the proportions, and the general interpretation of the foregoing chapters. Much material has been gathered which could not be used in the present paper.

The arrangement in the pages below is as follows:

Under "I" are placed bibliographical references sufficient to indicate the sources.

Under "II" are placed such poems as are considered Oriental. Classification is not as simple as it might seem. In addition to poems clearly Oriental, it has been the intention to include all those which deal, as wholes, with the gypsy, and the Westerner in the Orient; and those in which the chief imagery is Eastern, whatever the theme. Poems that are merely "Oriental" in style, in the sense noted above on page 7 are not included, except in a few examples.

In Kirke White's *Sonnet IX*, the theme is religious, but the chief imagery is drawn from the East. In Procter's *Amelia Wentworth*, the situation concerns the departure of "Charles" for India, but the spirit of the poem is English, as are the characters. *The Fatal Curiosity* has important Oriental motivation, but the play as a whole is famous as an early English domestic tragedy.

The value of the present study, it is hoped, lies in its emphasis on the wide diffusion of Oriental taste during the period under discussion. Much remains to be done in English Orientalism, even for the Eighteenth Century. We should have more critical definitions, and more adequate bibliographical and chronological surveys.

Under "III" are noted poems with *passages* which seem worthy of record. The data given for some of the minor poets are more complete than those for some of the masters.

Under "IV" have been placed such notes as did not seem to belong under the other numbers.

MARK AKENSIDE, 1721-1770.

I. Complete Poetical Works. Knight and Son, London, n. d.
III. The Pleasures of the Imagination.
Book II.—"Doth virtue deign to inhabit" *sq.*
Book III.—"To Egypt therefore" *sq.*
The Virtuoso.—VI-VII.

JOHN ARMSTRONG, 1709-1779.

I. Poetical Works of Armstrong, Dyer, and Green. With Memoirs and Critical Dissertations. The Text edited by Charles Cowden Clarke. Edinburgh, 1868.
III. The Art of Preserving Health.
Book II.—"Girt by the burning zone," *sq.*
—"Here from the desert" *sq.*
—"What does not fade?" *sq.*
Imitations of Shakespeare.
["Into the valleys.] And as rude hurricanes," *sq.*
"The glossy fleeces" *sq.*

EDWIN ATHERSTONE, 1788-1872.

I. Poems in Miles, vol. II.
II. A Dramatic Sketch.
[The Fall of Nineveh.]

JOANNA BAILLIE, 1762-1851.

I. Complete Poetical Works. First American Edition. Philadelphia, 1852.

II. The Bride.
Constantine Paleologus: A Tragedy.
Lord John of the East.
Sir Maurice: a Ballad.
III. The Martyr.—Orceres, a Parthian prince, is an important character.
William Wallace.—XCI.

ANNA LETITIA BARBAULD, 1743-1825.

I. Poems in Frost, 1838.
III. Hymn to Content.—Stanza 6.
Very slight touches in other poems.

RICHARD HARRIS BARHAM, 1788-1845.

I. Ingoldsby Legends. London. (1907.)
II. The Ingoldsby Penance.
III. The Auto-da-Fe.
The Cenotaph.
The Old Woman Clothed in Gray.

WILLIAM BARNES, 1801-1886.

I. Select Poems Chosen and Edited by Thomas Hardy. London, 1908.

JAMES BEATTIE, 1735-1803.

I. Poetical Works. London, n. d. Aldine Poets.
III. The Battle of the Pygmies and Cranes.—*Passim.*
The Minstrel.—Book I, 59.
IV. In a note to his translation of the fourth eclogue of Vergil, Beattie speaks of the "resemblance it bears in many places to the Oriental manner".

THOMAS LOVELL BEDDOES, 1803-1849.

I. Poetical Works. Edited, with a Memoir, by Edmund Gosse. London, 1890. Two vols. The Temple Library.
II. The Last Man;—A Crocodile.
The Romance of the Lily.
III. Death's Jest-Book; or The Fool's Tragedy.
Act I.—Scenes 2-4.

Act III.—Scene I.
Scene 3.—Song by Isbrand; and much of the scene.
Act IV.—Scene 4.—"Harpagus, hast thou salt" *sq.*
—Ziba: "Come; we'll struggle," *sq.*
Act V.—Scene 4.—Ziba: "Here's wine of Egypt," *sq.*
And all passages in which "Ziba; an Egyptian slave" appears.

The Second Brother.—Touches; *e. g.*, in III, 1.

Torrismond; I, 2—"This wine was pressed" *sq.*; and *passim.*

IV. Beddoes has little genuine Orientalism, except as noted above, but much of his verse is colored by a mystical, exotic quality which is somewhat allied with Oriental taste, as the Romantic poets expressed it.

THOMAS BLACKLOCK, 1721-1791.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVIII.

IV. *An Ode to a Young Gentleman Bound for Guinea* is perhaps about as near as this poet approaches to an Oriental poem.

ROBERT BLAIR, 1699-1746.

I. Poetical Works of Beattie, Blair, and Falconer. With Lives, etc., by the Rev. George Gilfillan. Edinburgh, London, and Dublin, 1854.

III. The Grave.—"The tapering pyramid," *sq.*

WILLIAM BLAKE, 1757-1828.

I. Poetical Works. Edited and Annotated by Edwin J. Ellis. London, 1906. Two. vols.

II. The Song of Los.
Africa.
Asia.
The Little Black Boy.
The Tiger.

III. Jerusalem.
Chapter III.—"Egypt is the eight steps within," *sq.* (58)
—"Europe and Asia and Africa and America," *sq.*
And numerous brief passages.

IV. Blake's peculiar symbolical treatment of the Orient gives him a unique place among the Oriental poets. One passage in *Jerusalem*, however, is a simple geographical list of countries.

ROBERT BLOOMFIELD, 1766-1823.

I. The Farmer's Boy. In Frost, 1838.

WILLIAM LISLE BOWLES, 1762-1852.

I. Poetical Works. With Memoir, etc., by the Rev. George Gilfillan. Edinburgh, London, and Dublin, 1855. Two vols.

II. Abba Thule's Lament for His Son Prince Le Boo.
The Battle of the Nile.
The Dying Slave.
The Egyptian Tomb.
The Gipsy's Tent.
The Harp of Hoel.
The Last Song of Camoens.
Song of the Cid.

III. Banwell Hill.
Part First.—["The dread event they speak.] What monuments" *sq.*
Part Second.—"Hosannah to the car of light!" *sq.*
The Grave of Howard.—"Teach to the roving Tartar's savage clan" *sq.*
Hope: An Allegorical Sketch.—Stanzas 5 and 18.
Saint John in Patmos. Part Second.—Stranger: "Was not the hand" *sq.*
Saint Michael's Mount.—"Thee the Phoenician," *sq.*
The Spirit of Discovery by Sea.
Book I.—"He said; and up to the unclouded height" *sq.*
A good deal in Books II-V.
The Spirit of Navigation.
The Sylph of Summer.—["Attendant on their march:—] the wild Simoom," *sq.*

IV. For a study of the heavier type of reflective and didactic verse dealing with the Orient, Bowles offers a rather surprising amount of material.

JOHN BOWRING, 1792-1872.

I. Matins and Vespers: With Hymns and Occasional Devotional Pieces. Boston, 1844.
II. [Russian Anthology.]
[Servian Popular Poetry.]
[Specimens of the Polish Poets.]
IV. A brief passage on the mirage of Sahara in *Matins and Vespers.*—See *Dictionary of National Biography.*

SAMUEL BOYSE, 1708-1749.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XIV.
II. Love and Majesty.
III. To Semanthe: Ode.—Last stanza.
The Triumphs of Nature.—"In which, of form Chinese," *sq.*
The Vision of Patience: An Allegorical poem.—General theme, and stanza 24.

HENRY BROOKE, 1706-1783.

I. Gustavus Vasa. In Inchbald's *British Theatre,* vol. VII.
Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVII.
II. Constantia; or The Man of Law's Tale. Modernized from Chaucer.
Jerusalem Delivered. (Translation of Books I-III.)
III. Universal Beauty. Book IV.—"Now hurried on Sarmatian tempests roll;" *sq.*

JOHN BROWN, 1715-1766

I. Barbarossa. In Inchbald's *British Theatre,* vol. XV.
II. The scene of this play is in Algiers. Some Oriental characters and diction.

ISAAC HAWKINS BROWNE, 1705-1760.

I. De Animi Immortalitate. In Chalmers, vol. XVII, p. 622.
III. Liber Primus.—"Quid memorem fluctu" *sq.*

ROBERT BURNS, 1759-1786.

I. Works. Edited by Wm. Scott Douglas. London, 1891. Five vols.

II. The Auld Man.
"One Queen Artemisia."
Evan Banks.
IV. Burns states that *The Auld Man* was written for an "East Indian air". There are fragmentary touches in other poems than those named.

JOHN BYROM, 1691-1763.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XV.
II. Epistle to J. Bl. k. n., Esq. Occasioned by a Dispute Concerning the Food of John the Baptist.
III. The Country Fellows and the Ass: Spoken on the Same Occasion.—"In some tamed elephants" *sq.*
IV. The *Epistle* named above is one of the numerous Biblical poems of the period with some coloring which might be called Oriental; though in general it is dry and didactic.

GEORGE GORDON, LORD BYRON, 1788-1824.

I. Poetical Works. Edited, with a Memoir, by Ernest Hartley Coleridge. London, 1905.
II. The Bride of Abydos: A Turkish Tale.
The Chain I Gave: From the Turkish.
Childe Harold's Pilgrimage.—Canto II.
The Corsair: A Tale.
Don Juan.—Chiefly Cantos II-X.
The Giaour: A Fragment of a Turkish Tale.
Hebrew Melodies.
The Destruction of Sennacherib.
On Jordan's Banks.
The Wild Gazelle.
The Island; or, Christian and His Comrades.
Lara: A Tale.
Maid of Athens, Ere We Part.
On This Day I Complete My Thirty-Sixth Year.
Sardanapalus: A Tragedy.
The Siege of Corinth.
Stanzas Composed During a Thunder Storm.
Stanzas: To a Hindoo Air.
Stanzas Written in Passing the Ambracian Gulf.
To Eliza.

Translation of a Romaic Love Song.
Translation of the Famous Greek War-Song.
Translation of the Romaic Song, etc.
A Very Mournful Ballad on the Siege and Conquest of Alhama.
Written after Swimming from Sestos to Abydos.

III. Ode on Venice.—III.
Brief passages or touches in many other poems.

IV. There is what might be considered Oriental coloring in *Cain* and in *Heaven and Earth*.

RICHARD OWEN CAMBRIDGE, 1717-1802.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVIII.

II. The Fakeer: A Tale.

III. Learning: A Dialogue between Dick and Ned.—"There, Ned, a Brahmin may you see" *sq.*
The Scribleriad.—Book I.

IV. Cambridge was interested in the study of East Indian affairs.

THOMAS CAMPBELL, 1777-1844.

I. Complete Poetical Works. Edited by J. Logie Robertson. Oxford University Press, 1907.

II. The Dead Eagle.
Epistle from Algiers to Horace Smith.
Lines on the Departure of Emigrants for New South Wales.
Lines [on] the Day of Victory in Egypt, 1809.
Lines on Poland.
The Power of Russia.
The Ritter Bann.
Song of the Colonists Departing for New Zealand.
Song of the Greeks.
Stanzas on the Battle of Navarino.
The Turkish Lady.
The Wounded Hussar.

III. The Pleasures of Hope. Part I.—"In Libyan groves," to the end.

GEORGE CANNING, 1770-1827.

I. Poems in Morley: *Parodies and Other Burlesque Pieces*.

II. The Progress of Man. Twenty-third Canto. On Marriage. (With Ellis.)
IV. See also under Frere.

WILLIAM CAREY, 1761-1834.

IV. A translation of part of the *Ramayuna* by Carey and Joshua Marshman is reviewed by Foster. (See below, p. 132, Foster, *Sanscrit Literature.*) Carey is credited with an edition of the *Ramayuna* in three volumes, 1806-1810.

HENRY FRANCIS CARY, 1792-1844.

II. [Ode to General Kosciusko.]

JAMES CAWTHORN, 1719-1761.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XIV.
III. The Antiquarians: A Tale.
—"Asserted that it came from Tyre:" *sq.*
—"It came! says he," *sq.*
The Birth and Education of Genius: A Tale.—"But, such the fate," *sq.*
Life Unhappy because We Use it Improperly: A Moral Essay.—"Breathes it in Ceylon's" *sq.*
Nobility: A Moral Essay.—"In Turkey," *sq.* And *passim.*
Of Taste.—"Of late, 'tis true," *sq.*
The Vanity of Human Enjoyments: An Ethic Epistle.—"Tell me, O visier!" *sq.*
IV. The passage in *Of Taste* is one of the best of the period on matters Oriental in English garden and parlor ornament.

THOMAS CHATTERTON, 1752-1770.

I. Poetical Works. Boston, 1879. Two vols. in one. British Poets.
II. The Death of Nicou: An African Eclogue.
Heccar and Gaira: An African Eclogue.
Narva and Mored: An African Eclogue.
III. Englysh Metamorphosis.—I, 1.
IV. The Oriental element in Chatterton is interesting by way of contrast with the work for which he is famous. It is practically limited to the *Eclogues.*

CHARLES CHURCHILL, 1731-1764.

I. Poetical Works. With Memoir, etc., by the Rev. George Gilfillan. Edinburgh, London, and Dublin, 1855.

II. The Farewell.

III. The Ghost.
Book I.—"At its first rise," *sq.*
Book III.—" 'Sure as that cane," *sq.*
Gotham.—"But whither do these grave reflections" *sq.*
The Times.—"Nor stop we here" *sq.*

HARTLEY COLERIDGE, 1796-1849.

I. Poems in Miles, vol. III.

II. Address to Certain Gold Fishes.

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE, 1772-1834.

I. Complete Poetical Works. Edited by Ernest Hartley Coleridge. The Clarendon Press, 1912. Two vols.

II. Kubla Khan.
Lewti, or the Circassian Love-Chaunt.
Remorse: A Tragedy.

III. The Destiny of Nations: A Vision.—"As ere from Lieule-Oaive's vapoury head" *sq.*
Religious Musings.—"O fiends of superstition!" *sq.*
—"Fitliest depictured" *sq.*

IV. The Bohemian element in *The Piccolomini* may be noted. There are a few very slight Oriental touches—by Coleridge and Southey—in *The Fall of Robespierre.*

WILLIAM COLLINS, 1721-1759.

I. Poetical Works. With . . . Biographical and Critical Notes by the Rev. Alexander Dyce. London, 1827.

II. Oriental Eclogues.
Selim; or, The Shepherd's Moral.
Hassan; or, The Camel-driver.
Abra; or, The Georgian Sultana.
Agib and Secander; or, The Fugitives.

IV. The Oriental element in Collins is of interest in contrast with the predominant Celtic and Grecian elements.

GEORGE COLMAN THE YOUNGER, 1762-1836.

I. The Iron Chest. In Inchbald's *British Theatre*, vol. XXI.
The Mountaineers. In the same vol.
III. The Mountaineers.—Moorish element *passim*.

JOHN GILBERT COOPER, 1723-1769.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XV.
II. Ver-Vert; or, The Nunnery Parrot.—Theme, and touches *passim*.
III. The Power of Harmony.—Book I, *passim*.
IV. Slight touches in some other poems.

NATHANIEL COTTON, 1705-1788.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVIII.
II. An Invocation of Happiness: After the Oriental Manner of Speech.
III. Visions in Verse; for the Entertainment and Instruction of Younger Minds. Pleasure. Vision II.—"Shall Siam's elephant supply" *sq*.
IV. Oriental diction *passim* in other poems.

WILLIAM COWPER, 1731-1800.

I. Works. Comprising his Poems, Correspondence, and Translations. With a Life of the Author by the Editor, Robert Southey. London, 1854. Eight vols. Bohn's Standard Library. Verse in vols. V and VI.
Unpublished and Uncollected Poems. Edited by Thomas Wright. London, 1900. Cameo Series.
II. Epigram. (Printed in the Northampton *Mercury*.)
The Love of the World Reproved; or Hypocrisy Detected.
The Morning Dream.
The Negro's Complaint.
Pity for Poor Africans.
Reciprocal Kindness the Primary Law of Nature. (Translated from Vincent Bourne.)
Sonnet to William Wilberforce, Esq.
Sweet Meat has Sour Sauce; or, The Slave-Trader in the Dumps.
III. Adam: A Sacred Drama. Translated from the Italian of Gio. Battista Andreini.—This has passages rather richly

colored, which might be considered "Oriental" in style. See especially, II, 6; V, 1 and 5.
Anti-Thelyphthora. A Tale, in Verse.—"Ye fair Circassians" *sq.*
Charity.—"When Cook—lamented" *sq.*
Expostulation.—"Hast thou, though suckled at fair Freedom's breast," *sq.*
Montes Glaciales, in Oceano Germanico Natantes.
On Mrs. Montagu's Feather Hangings.
On the Ice Islands seen Floating in the German Ocean.
On the Platonic Idea, as It Was Understood by Aristotle.
The Task.
Books I, II, III, and V.—Touches.
Book VI.—"Nebaioth, and the flocks of Kedar" *sq.*

IV. Genuine Orientalism is very rare in Cowper. His humanitarian interest produced a number of poems on slavery, listed above. Many other poems contain slight fragments of Oriental diction or reference; among them *An Epistle to Joseph Hill, Esq.*, *The Critics Chastised, In a Letter to the Same* (C. P., Esq.), *The Progress of Error*, *The Retired Cat*, *Table Talk*, *Translations of the Latin and Italian Poems of Milton*, and *Truth*.

GEORGE CRABBE, 1754-1832.

I. Poetical Works. With His Letters and Journals, and His Life, by His Son. London, 1834. Eight vols.

II. The Hall of Justice.
Woman.

III. The Borough.
Letter IX.—"Lo! where on that huge anchor" *sq.*
Letter X.—"When Bruce, that dauntless traveller," *sq.*
The Parish Register.
Part III.—"A Captain thither, rich from India came," *sq.*
Posthumous Tales.
Tale I.—"But there were fictions wild" *sq.*
Tale XIX.—"Arabian Nights, and Persian Tales," *sq.*
Tales.
Tale X.—"And there a Gipsy-tribe" *sq.*
Tale XI.—"'Tis thus a sanguine reader" *sq.*
Tale XVI.—"The Caliph Harun" *sq.*

Tales of the Hall.
Book IV.—"'Thou hast sailed far, dear Brother,'" *sq.*
The World of Dreams.—Stanzas 28-29.

GEORGE CROLY, 1780-1860.

I. Poems in Frost, 1843.
II. On the Ruins of Mesolonghi.
The Song of Antar: From the Arabic.
III. Illustrations of Napoleon.
I. Napoleon at St. Helena.—"That Polar snows" *sq.*

RICHARD CUMBERLAND, 1732-1811.

I. The Carmelite. In Inchbald's *Modern Theatre*, vol. V.
III. On the Crusades and the Saracen, *passim*.

GEORGE DARLEY, 1795-1846.

I. Poems in Miles, vol. III.
III. Sylvia; or, The May Queen.—A slight touch or two.

ERASMUS DARWIN, 1731-1802.

I. Poetical Works. London, 1806. Three vols.
III. The Economy of Vegetation.
Canto I.—"Pass, where with palmy plumes" *sq.*
Canto II.—"Thus caverned round" *sq.*
Canto III.—"Sailing in air," *sq.*
Canto IV.—"Sylphs! your bold myriads" *sq.*
—"Pleased shall the Sage," *sq.*
—"So from his shell" *sq.*
The Loves of the Plants.
Canto I.—"Where Java's isle," *sq.*
Canto II.—"Papyra, throned upon the bank of Nile," *sq.*
—"Two Sister-Nymphs" *sq.*
Canto III.—"So, where Palmyra" *sq.*
—"Where seas of glass" *sq.*
—"So the sad mother" *sq.*
Canto IV.—"Amphibious Nymph," *sq.*
—"So, when the Nightingale" *sq.*
The Origin of Society.
Canto I.—Touches.
Canto III.—"Where Egypt's pyramids" *sq.*

Canto IV.—"Led by Volition" *sq.*
—"So when Arabia's Bird," *sq.*

ROBERT DODSLEY, 1703-1764.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XV.

II. Rex et Pontifex.—The chief Orientalism is in the stage directions.

SIR FRANCIS HASTINGS DOYLE, 1810-1888.

I. Poems in Miles, vol. IV.

II. The Mameluke Charge.
Mehreb Khan.
The Private of the Buffs.
The Red Thread of Honour.

IV. These poems were written prior to 1840, according to the sketch of Doyle in Miles.

JOHN DYER, 1700-1758.

I. Poetical Works of Armstrong, Dyer, and Green. With Memoirs and Critical Dissertations. The Text edited by Charles Cowden Clarke. Edinburgh, 1868.

III. The Fleece.
Book II.—"The glossy fleeces now of prime esteem" *sq.*
Book III.—"Or the Cathayan's," *sq.*
—"Far-distant Thibet" *sq.*
Book IV.—"See the dark spirit of tyrannic power" *sq.*
Passim in other parts of the poem.
The Ruins of Rome.—*Passim.*

GEORGE ELLIS, 1753-1815.

I. Poems in Morley: *Parodies and Other Burlesque Pieces.*

II. The Duke of Benevento: A Tale.
The Power of Faith: A Tale.

III. Loves of the Triangles.—"In Afric's schools," *sq.*
Ode by Nathaniel Weaxall.—Largely Orientalized.

IV. See also under Frere.

WILLIAM FALCONER, 1732-1769.

I. Poetical Works. With a Memoir by John Mitford. London, 1895. Aldine Poets.

II. The Shipwreck.
IV. This poem has its scenes in the Eastern Mediterranean region. It has little true Oriental style or subject.

FRANCIS FAWKES, 1721-1777.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVI.
III. Claudian's Old Man.—One couplet.
Fragments of Menander.—A few touches.
Mechanical Solution of the Propagation of Yawning.—Touches.

ROBERT FERGUSSON, 1750-1774.

I. Poetical Works. Edited by Robert Ford. Paisley, 1905.
IV. Fergusson has less Oriental element than Burns. Perhaps *Tea* is about as near as he comes to an Oriental poem.

JOHN HOOKAM FRERE, 1769-1846.

I. Works in Verse and Prose. Now first Collected. With a Memoir by His Nephews, W. E. and Sir Bartle Frere. London, 1872. Two vols.
Poems in Morley: *Parodies and Other Burlesque Pieces.*
II. Lines on the Death of Richard Edward Frere.
The Slavery of Greece.
Tablet in Royden Church.
Translations from the Poem of the Cid.
Translation of a Letter (in Oriental Characters) from Bobba-Dara-Adul-Phoola, Dragoman to the Expedition, to Neek-Awl-Aretchid-Kooes, Secretary to the Tunisian Embassy.—With Canning, Ellis, and Gifford (?).
III. Elegy, or Dirge.—(With Canning and Ellis.)
Fragment II.
Hexameters.
King Arthur and His Round Table.
Loves of the Triangles. (With Canning and Ellis.)

RICHARD GLOVER, 1712-1785.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVII.
III. The Athenaid.—*Passim.*
Leonidas.
Book III.—"Not from the hundred brazen gates" *sq.*

Book IV.—"The noble dames of Persia" *sq.*
—And much of the Book.
Classical Orientalism throughout the poem.
London; or, The Progress of Commerce.
—"Beneath the Libyan skies," *sq.*
—"Now solitude and silence" *sq.*
—" . . . . though Mahomet could league" *sq.*

OLIVER GOLDSMITH, 1728-1774.

I. Works. Edited by J. M. W. Gibbs. London, 1894-1907. Five vols. Bohn's Standard Library.
II. Prologue to *Zobeide.*
III. The Traveller.—"The naked negro," *sq.*
IV. Goldsmith's Orientalism is chiefly in his prose.

JAMES GRAHAME, 1765-1811.

I. Poems in Frost, 1838.
III. The Sabbath.—"But what the loss of country" *sq.*

JAMES GRAINGER, 1723-1767.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XIV.
III. The Sugar-Cane.—Extensive treatment of the Negro, and of Africa in connection; especially in Books III and IV. Book IV opens with an invocation to the "Genius of Afric."
IV. This poem may be considered a link between Oriental and Occidental interests, based on real history, not mere fancy.

THOMAS GRAY, 1716-1771.

I. Works. Edited by Edmund Gosse. London, 1884. Four vols.
III. The Alliance of Education and Government.—"Oft o'er the trembling Nations" *sq.*
IV. Very slight touches in *Hymn to Ignorance* and the translation from Tasso. It is interesting to recall the Occidental reference in the *Progress of Poesy.*

ARTHUR H. HALLAM, 1811-1833.

I. Poems, etc. Edited by Richard Le Gallienne. London and New York, 1893.
II. Timbuctoo.

III. Meditative Fragments, VI.
Scene at Rome.

WILLIAM HAMILTON, 1704-1754.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XV.
II. Mithridates.
IV. Touches here and there in other poems.

WALTER HARTE, 1709-1774.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVI.
III. Essay on Reason.—"Midst Tartary's deserts," *sq.*
Eulogius; or, The Charitable Mason.
The Vision of Death.—"Ynoisa, Sanchia," *sq.*
IV. All three of these pieces are *Divine Poems*; Biblical in general tone.

HALL HARTSON, (?) -1773.

I. The Countess of Salisbury: A Tragedy. In Inchbald's *British Theatre*, vol. XVI.
III. Brief passages in I, 1, and IV, 1.

ROBERT STEPHEN HAWKER, 1803-1875.

I. Poems in Miles, vol. III.
III. The Quest of the Sangreal.—Touches.

REGINALD HEBER, Bishop of Calcutta, 1783-1826.

IV. Heber is intimately connected with English Orientalism, through his life work, and through his prose. For parodies of his famous missionary hymn, see Hamilton: *Parodies*, etc.

FELICIA DOROTHEA HEMANS, 1794-1835.

I. Poetical Works. London and New York, 1891. The Imperial Poets.
II. The Abencerrage.
Attraction of the East.
The Bird's Release.
The Burial in the Desert.
The Caravan in the Desert.
Casabianca.
The Crusader's Return.

The Crusader's War-song.
The Flower of the Desert.
An Hour of Romance.
The Indian City.
Ivan the Czar.
The Last Banquet of Antony and Cleopatra.
The Last Constantine.
Marius among the Ruins of Carthage.
Moorish Bridal Song.
Moorish Gathering-Song.
The Mourner for the Barmecides.
Ode on the Defeat of King Sebastian of Portugal.
The Palm-tree.
The Rio Verde Song.
Sebastian of Portugal: A Dramatic Fragment.
Song: "Oh! bear me to the groves of palm."
Song Founded upon an Arabian Anecdote.
Songs of the Cid.
The Suliote Mother.
To the Memory of Heber.
The Traveller at the Source of the Nile.
The Wife of Asdrubal.
The Zegri Maid.

III. The Domestic Affections.—Lo! through the waste," *sq.*
England and Spain.—"Hail, Albion, hail! to thee has fate denied" *sq.*
Modern Greece.—Especially XI, XII, XXXI-XXXVII, LXXXIII.
A Tale of the Secret Tribunal. Part II.—"For, long a captive" *sq.*

IV. Mrs. Hemans is a prominent Oriental poet, by virtue of the number of her poems if not by virtue of quality. She probably expresses as fully as any minor poet of the period the sentimental values found in contemplation of the Moors and the Crusader, the pathetic appeal of the desert, and some other themes. Oriental words and phrases are scattered through many poems not listed above.

AARON HILL, 1685-1750.

II. [Daraxes.]

IV. For comment on this operatic piece, see Dorothy Brewster: *Aaron Hill*, and Jeannette Marks: *English Pastoral Drama*.

JAMES HOGG, 1770-1835.

I. Works of the Ettrick Shepherd. A New Edition. With a Memoir of the Author by the Rev. Thomas Thomson. London, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, 1866. Two vols.

II. Arabian Song.
The Gypsies.

III. Cary O'Kean.
The Curse of the Laureate.—Stanzas 5 and 8.
The Descent of Love.
The Field of Waterloo.
Sacred Melodies.—Especially the *Rose of Sharon*.
Wallace.—One couplet.

JOHN HOME, 1722-1808.

I. Douglass: A Tragedy. In Inchbald's *British Theatre*, vol. XVI.

III. IV, 3.—"Small is the skill" *sq*.

THOMAS HOOD, 1798-1845.

I. Poetical Works. Boston, 1880. Five vols. British Poets.

II. Address to Mr. Cross, of Exeter Change, on the Death of the Elephant.
The Broken Dish.
The China-Mender.
I'm Going to Bombay.
The Kangaroos: A Fable.
Lines to a Lady on her Departure for India.
The Monkey-Martyr: A Fable.
Ode to the Cameleopard.
Poem from the Polish.
Remonstratory Ode from the Elephant at Exeter Change.
The Stag-eyed Lady: A Moorish Tale.
A True Story. ("Whoe'er has seen.")

III. Miss Kilmansegg.—Slight touches *passim*.

JOHN HOOLE, 1727-1803.

I. Translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. In Chalmers, vol. XXI.

Translation of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*. In the same vol.
IV. Many of the Oriental words and phrases in these translations follow the Italian closely; but Hoole sometimes flattens, sometimes heightens the Oriental effects of the original diction.

RICHARD HENRY HORNE, 1803-1884.

I. Poems in Miles, vol. III.
II. Pelters of Pyramids.

JAMES HENRY LEIGH HUNT, 1784-1859.

I. Poems in Miles, vol. II.
II. Abou ben Adhem and the Angel.
The Nile.

RICHARD JAGO, 1715-1781.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVII.
IV. Only single words and slight phrases noted.

SOAME JENYNS, 1704-1787.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVII.
III. On the Immortality of the Soul: Translated from the Latin of I. H. Browne. Book I.—"Why should I mention those," *sq.*

ROBERT JEPHSON, 1736-1803.

I. The Count of Narbonne: A Tragedy. In Inchbald's *British Theatre*, vol. XX.
III. Brief passages in II, 1, and III, 2.

SAMUEL JOHNSON, 1709-1784.

I. Works. With an Essay on His Life and Genius by Arthur Murphy. A New Edition. London, Glasgow, and Dublin, 1824. Twelve vols. Verse in vol. I.
II. Irene: A Tragedy.
III. Septem Ætates.
Touches in *Messia*, and *To Stella*.

SIR WILLIAM JONES, 1746-1794.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVIII.

II. A Chinese Ode.
  Paraphrased.
  Verbal Translation.
Elegia Arabica.
The Enchanted Fruit; or, The Hindoo Wife: An Antediluvian Tale.
Ex Ferdusii Poetae Persici Poemate Heroico.
From the Persian Poem of Hatifi.
  In the Measure of the Original.
  Transposition.
A Hymn to Camdeo.
A Hymn to Ganga.
A Hymn to Indra.
A Hymn to Lacshmi.
A Hymn to Narayena.
A Hymn to Sereswaty.
A Hymn to Surya.
To Lady Jones: From the Arabic.
Two Hymns to Pracriti.
  The Hymn to Bhavani.
  The Hymn to Durga.
Ode Arabica.
An Ode of Jami: In the Persian Form and Measure.
Ode Persica.
Altera.
The Palace of Fortune: An Indian Tale.
A Persian Song of Hafiz.
Plassey-Plain: A Ballad Addressed to Lady Jones.
The Seven Fountains: An Eastern Allegory.
Solima: An Arabian Eclogue.
A Song from the Persian, Paraphrased in the Measure of the Original.
A Turkish Ode of Mesihi.
The Same: In Imitation of the *Perviligium Veneris.*

JOHN KEATS, 1795-1821.

I. Poetical Works and Other Writings. Edited by H. B. Forman. London, 1883. Four vols.

II. The Cap and Bells.
Lamia.
Sonnet to the Nile.
III. Endymion.
Eve of St. Agnes.
Hyperion.
Isabella.
Otho the Great.
IV. There are phrases and brief passages in other poems.

JOHN KEBLE, 1792-1866.

I. The Christian Year. London and New York, 1894. The Golden Treasury Series.
II. Monday in Whitsun-Week.
III. Conversion of St. Paul.—Stanza I.
Second Sunday after Christmas.
Second Sunday after Easter.
Third Sunday in Lent.—Stanzas 3, 4.

CHARLES LAMB, 1775-1834.

I. Works. Edited by E. V. Lucas. London, 1903-4. Seven vols.
II. The Gipsy's Malison.
Queen Oriana's Dream.
The Young Catechist.
III. The Wife's Trial. Last scene.—"The scene is laid in the East." *sq.* And *passim.*

JOHN LANGHORNE, 1735-1779.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVI.
II. Fables of Flora.—Fable VI: The Queen of the Meadow and the Crown Imperial.
III. The Country Justice: Introduction.—The Gypsy-Life.

MATTHEW GREGORY LEWIS, 1775-1818.

I. Life and Correspondence . . . with Many Pieces in Prose and Verse never before Published. London, 1839. Two vols.
II. Alatar: A Spanish Ballad.
The Angel of Mercy: An Oriental Tale.

Epilogue to *Barbarossa*.
The Loss of Alhama: From the Spanish.
Phatyr's Song of Triumph.
The Princess and the Slave: A Tale.
The Tailor's Wife. (From the German.)
Zayde and Zayda: From the Spanish.

III. Touches in *William; or, The Sailor Boy, Lines . . on . . C. J. Fox*, and other poems.

JOHN LEYDEN, 1775-1811.

II. [The Arab Warrior.]
[The Fight of Praya.]
[Finland Mother's Song.]

IV. See Symons, p. 171, and *Dictionary of National Biography*.

GEORGE LILLO, 1693-1739.

I. The Fatal Curiosity. In Inchbald's *British Theatre*, vol. XI.

II. [The Christian Hero.]—"Set in Albania."

III. The Fatal Curiosity.—Especially I, 3; II, 3.

ROBERT LLOYD, 1733-1754.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XV.

III. The Cit's Country Box.—"Now bricklayers, carpenters and joiners," *sq*.
The Cobbler of Cripplegate's Letter to Robert Lloyd.—"The Chinese ladies feet" *sq*.

JOHN GIBSON LOCKHART, 1794-1854.

I. Ancient Spanish Ballads; Historical and Romantic. A New Edition, Revised. London, 1859.

II. Dragut, the Corsair.
The Flight from Granada.
The Moor Calaynos.
Moorish Ballads.
The Vow of Reduan.

IV. There is a Moorish element in several poems not named above. The Orientalism of the *Spanish Ballads* is mainly a matter of theme rather than diction.

JOHN LOGAN, 1748-1788.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVIII.
III A Tale.—Partly Oriental.

EDWARD LOVIBOND, 1724-1775.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVI.
II. On an Asiatic Lady.
Reply to Miss G—.
Song: "Hang my Lyre upon the Willow."
To Laura: Farewell to the Rose.
To Laura, on Her Receiving a Mysterious Letter from a Methodist Divine.
To the Same.
To the Same: On Her Dress.
To the Same: On Politics.
III. The Tears of Old May-Day.—Last three stanzas.

GEORGE LYTTELTON, 1709-1773.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XIV.
III. The Progress of Love: Hope. Eclogue II.—"Ah! how, my dear," *sq.*
IV. Lyttelton, author of *Letters from a Persian in England* (1735), is Orientalized—very slightly—in Edward Moore's *Trial of Selim.*

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY, 1800-1859.

I. Works. London, 1898. Twelve vols.
II. The Deliverance of Vienna. Translated from Filicaja.
The Marriage of Tirzah and Ahirad.
III. Lays of Ancient Rome.—The Prophecy of Capys, 13, 28, 31.

LETITIA ELIZABETH LANDON MACLEAN, 1802-1838.

I. Poems in Miles, vol. V.
II. The Moorish Maiden's Vigil.

WILLIAM MAGINN, 1793-1842.

I. Poems in Jerrold and Leonard.
II. The Galiongee: A Fragment of a Turkish Tale.

DAVID MALLET, 1700-1765.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XIV.
III. The Excursion. Canto I.—"From Zembla's cliffs," *sq.*

JAMES CLARENCE MANGAN, 1803-1849.

I. Poems in Miles, vol. III.

II. Ghazel: The World. By Kemal-Oomi.
The Hundred-leafed Rose. By Mohammed ben Osman ben Ali Nakkash, called Lamii, or, The Dazzling.
The Karamanian Exile. From the Ottoman.
Passage. From Hudayi II, Native of Anatolia.
The Time of the Barmecides. From the Arabic.
The Time of the Roses. From the Turkish of Mesihi.
The Wail of the Three Khalendeers. From the Ottoman.

WILLIAM MASON, 1724-1797.

I. Poems. London, 1830. Two vols.
Elfrida, and Caractacus: Dramatic Poems. London, 1819.
The English Garden: A Poem. With Commentary and Notes by W. Burgh. London, 1819.
(The above four vols. bound in one.)

III. The English Garden.
Book II.—"The Tartar tyrants," *sq.*
—"But now the conquering arms" *sq.*
Touches elsewhere in the poem.

IV. Mason's Orientalism is interesting by way of contrast to the strong Celtic and Greek aspects of his dramatic poems.

WILLIAM JULIUS MICKLE, 1734-1788.

I. Translation of Camoens' *Lusiad.* In Chalmers, vol. XXI.
Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVII.

II. The Lusiad.
Sonnet to Vasco da Gama: From Tasso.

III. Almada Hill.—"But turn we now" *sq.*
—"The naval pride of those bright days" *sq.*
Liberty: An Elegy.—Stanzas 16-19.

JAMES MILLER, 1703-1744.

I. Mahomet, the Imposter. In Inchbald's *British Theatre,* vol. XIII.

II. This is an Oriental tragedy, adapted from Voltaire.

HENRY HART MILMAN, 1791-1868.

I. Poems in Frost, 1843.

II. [Mahabharata. (From the Sanskrit.)]

III. Samor. Book XI.—"As in the Oriental wars" *sq.*

MARY RUSSELL MITFORD, 1787-1855.

II. [Christina, or The Maid of the South Seas.]
[Sadak and Kalasrade.]

LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU, 1689-1762.

I. Letters and Works. Edited by Lord Wharncliffe. With Additions, etc. by W. Moy Thomas. New Edition, revised. London, 1887. Two vols. Bohn's Standard Library.

II. "Now Philomel renews her tender strain." (Vol. I, p. 182.) Verses Written in the Chiosk of the British Palace at Pera.

III. An Epistle to The Earl of Burlington.—"Thus on the sands" *sq.*

IV. The *Verses* are perhaps the first English poem of note written in the Orient. (1717.)

JAMES MONTGOMERY, 1771-1854.

I. Poetical Works. Boston, 1881. Five vols. in two. British Poets.

II. Abdallah and Sabat.
The Battle of Alexandria.
Birds.
The Bird of Paradise.
The Canary.
The Ostrich.
The Pelican.
The Bramin.
The Cast-away Ship.
The Sequel.
China Evangelized.
The Christians' Call to the Gipsies.
A Cry from South Africa.
The Daisy in India.
A Deed of Darkness.
For a Congregation of Negroes.
The Loss of the Locks.
The Pelican Island.
Songs on the Abolition of Negro Slavery in the British Colonies.

Sonnet . . . on the Siege of Famagusta.
Thoughts on Wheels.—No. II. The Car of Juggernaut.
To My Friend, George Bennet, Esq.
The Voyage of the Blind.

III. Greenland.
Canto I.—"Unwearied as the camel," *sq.*
Canto IV.—From Asia's fertile womb," *sq.*
The Ocean.—"Thus the pestilent Upas," *sq.* And *passim.*
Verses to the Memory of . . Richard Reynolds. III.—First four lines.
A Voyage Round the World.
The West Indies.—Treatment of Africa or the Negro throughout the poem.
The World before the Flood.—Biblical; with some Oriental element.

EDWARD MOORE, 1712-1757.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XIV.
Poems, Fables and Plays. London, 1756.

II. Solomon: A Serenata.
The Trial of Selim, the Persian. (See above, under Lyttelton.)

THOMAS MOORE, 1779-1852.

I. Poetical Works. Boston, 1879. Six vols. in three.

II. The East-Indian.
Fables for the Holy Alliance.
Fable III.
Fable V.
The Fudge Family in Paris. Letter IX.—September 6th.
From the High Priest of Apollo to a Virgin of Delhi.
Fum and Hum.
Lalla Rookh.
National Airs.
Cashmerian.
Hungarian.
Indian.
Mahratta.
Russian.
Ode to the Sublime Porte.

On a Beautiful East-Indian.
To My Mother.
The Twopenny Post Bag.—Letter VI.
A Vision of Philosophy.

III. Epistle IX.—Opening lines, and *passim*.
The Fudge Family in Paris. Letter X.
News for Country Cousins.
Rhymes on the Road.—Extract IV.
The Twopenny Post Bag.—Letter II.

WILLIAM MOTHERWELL, 1797-1835.

I. Poetical Works. With Memoir by James M'Conechy New Edition, Enlarged. Boston, 1847.

II. The Crusader's Farewell.
Ouglou's Onslaught: A Turkish Battle Song.
Zara.

CAROLINA OLIPHANT, LADY NAIRNE, 1766-1845.

I. Life Songs of the Baroness Nairne. Edited by Charles Rogers. Edinburgh, 1905.

JOHN HENRY, CARDINAL NEWMAN, 1801-1890.

I. Verses on Various Occasions. London and New York, 1889.

III. Heathen Greece.—Touches.
Solitude.—Touches.

THOMAS LOVE PEACOCK, 1785-1866.

I. The Genius of the Thames, Palmyra, and Other Poems. Second Edition. London and Edinburgh, 1812.

II. Palmyra.

III. The Genius of the Thames.
Part I.—"Where Tigris runs," *sq.*
Part II.—"Thus fair, of old," *sq.*
And *passim*.

ROBERT POLLOK, 1799-1827.

I. The Course of Time. Sixteenth Edition. Edinburgh and London, 1841.

III. Book V.—"Desire of every land!" *sq.*
Book VII.—"The Memphian mummy," *sq.*
—"Athens, and Rome, and Babylon," *sq.*

Book VIII.—Opening lines.
—"He could not trust the word of heaven," *sq.*

WINTHROP MACKWORTH PRAED, 1802-1839.

I. Poems. With a Memoir by the Rev. Derwent Coleridge. Second Edition. London, 1864. Two vols.

II. Australasia.
Hindostan.
In Obitum . . . T. F. Middleton, Episcopi Calcuttensis.
Pyramides Ægyptiacæ.
The Pyramids of Egypt.

III. Athens.—"Again long years of darkness" *sq.*
The County Ball.—"I come to ye a stranger guest," *sq.*
The Fancy Ball.—*Passim.*
Lidian's Love.—XXIII-XXVII.

IV. Touches in *Surly Hall, Arrivals at a Watering-Place*, etc.

THOMAS PRINGLE, 1789-1834.

II. [African Sketches.]

BRYAN WALLER PROCTER, 1790-1874.

I. Poems in Frost, 1843.

II. Gyges.
Julian the Apostate.
The Return of Mark Antony.

III. Amelia Wentworth.
Marcian Colonna.
Part I.—1.
Part III.—13 and 17.

IV. Slight touches or brief passages in *The Falcon, Ludovico Sforza, Tartarus*, and *Werner.*

ANN RADCLIFFE, 1864-1823.

I. The Romance of the Forest, Interspersed with Some Pieces of Poetry. London, 1806. Three vols.
The Mysteries of Udolpho: A Romance. With an Introduction by D. Murray Rose. London, 1903.

II. The Mysteries of Udolpho. Chapter XVII.—Stanzas.

III. The Romance of the Forest.
Chapter XI.—Song of a Spirit. One line.
Chapter XVIII.—Morning, On the Sea-shore.

JOHN HAMILTON REYNOLDS, 1796-1852.

II. [Safie: An Eastern Tale.]

SAMUEL ROGERS, 1763-1855.

I. Poetical Works. John W. Lovell Company, New York, n. d.

II. An Inscription.
Ode to Superstition.—I, 3; II, 2.

III. Italy.
Part I, 2.—"And whence the talisman" *sq.*
Part II, 22.—"And that yet greater scourge," *sq.*
—Closing passage.
Human Life.—"A tale is told" *sq.*
The Pleasures of Memory.
Part I.—"Down by yon hazel copse," *sq.*
Part II.—"From Guinea's coasts" sq.
The Voyage of Columbus.—"Such to their grateful ear" *sq.*

WILLIAM STEWART ROSE, 1795-1845.

II. [Translation of *Orlando Furioso.*]

JOHN SCOTT, 1730-1783.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVII.

II. On the Ingenious Mr. Jones's Elegant Translations and Imitations of Eastern Poetry.
Oriental Eclogues.
Li-Po; or, the Good Governor: A Chinese Eclogue.
Serim; or, The Artificial Famine: An East-Indian Eclogue.
Zerad; or, The Absent Lover: An Arabian Eclogue.

III. Elegy III.—"Ask Grecia," *sq.*
Epistle II: Winter Amusements in the Country.—"Such, hapless Cook!" *sq.*
An Essay on Painting.—"Now his pleased step" *sq.*
Ode XXIII.

WALTER SCOTT, 1771-1832.

I. Poetical Works. Boston, 1881. Ten vols. in five. British Poets.

II. Ahriman. (From *The Talisman*, Chapter III.)

"Canny moment, lucky fit" (From *Guy Mannering*, Chapter III.)
The Crusader's Return. (From *Ivanhoe*, Chapter XVIII.)
The Fire-King.
The Search after Happiness; or, The Quest of the Sultaun Solimaun.
"Twist ye, twine ye!" (From *Guy Mannering*, Chapter IV.)
Verses . . . to the Grand-Duke Nicholas of Russia.
"Wasted, weary, wherefore stay." (From *Guy Mannering*, Chapter XXVII.)

III. The Bridal of Triermain. Canto III.—20-24 and 30-31.

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY, 1792-1822.

I. Complete Poetical Works. Edited by G. E. Woodberry. Boston, 1894. Four vols.

II. Alastor.
Bigotry's Victim.
Fragments of an Unfinished Drama.
From the Arabic: An Imitation.
Hellas.
[Henry and Louisa.—Part II.]
The Indian Serenade.
Prometheus Unbound.
The Revolt of Islam.
Sonnet: Ozymandias.
Sonnet: To the Nile.
The Witch of Atlas.
[Zeinab and Kathema.]

III. Ode to Liberty.—III.
Queen Mab.
II.—"Beside the eternal Nile" *sq.*
VII.—"The name of God" *sq.*
IX.—"Even Time, the conqueror," *sq.*
And *passim.*

IV. Many phrases and brief passages in other poems.

WILLIAM SHENSTONE, 1714-1763.

I. Poetical Works. With Life, etc., by the Rev. George Gilfillan. Edinburgh, London, and Dublin, 1854.

III. Elegy XIV.—Stanzas 9-14.
Elegy XX.

CHRISTOPHER SMART, 1722-1770.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVI.
III. On the Goodness of the Supreme Being.—"Attest, and praise," *sq.*
On the Immensity of the Supreme Being.—"Easy may fancy pass," *sq.*

HORACE SMITH, 1779-1849.

I. (With James Smith.) Rejected Addresses; or, The New Theatrum Poetarum. New Edition. London, 1879.
Poems in Miles, vol. IX.
III. Address to a Mummy in Belzoni's Exhibition.
The Jester Condemned to Death.
IV. The Rebuilding. (With James Smith.)

TOBIAS GEORGE SMOLLETT, 1721-1771.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XV.
III. Ode to Independence.—"Arabia's scorching sands" *sq.*
IV. Brief passages in other poems.

ROBERT SOUTHEY, 1774-1843.

I. Poetical Works. Boston, 1880. Ten vols. in five. British Poets.
II. The Battle of Pultowa.
Botany Bay Eclogues.
The Curse of Kehama.
Donica.
Gonzalo Hermiguez.
Imitated from the Persian.
The King of the Crocodiles.
La Caba.
The Lover's Rock.
The March to Moscow.
Ode on the Battle of Algiers.
Ode on the Portrait of Bishop Heber.
Ode to His Imperial Majesty, Alexander I, Emperor of All the Russias.
Poems Concerning the Slave-Trade.

Queen Orraca, and the Five Martyrs of Morocco.
Sonnet XIV.
Thalaba the Destroyer.
The Young Dragon.

III. Joan of Arc.
Book VI.—"These as they saw," *sq.*
—"[Come thundering on.] As when Chederles comes" *sq.*
—"Grateful, as to the way-worn traveller," *sq.*
Book VII.—Touches.
Book VIII.—"So thickly thronged" *sq.*
Book X.—"Fills not the Persian's soul," *sq.*
—"The foe tremble and die." *sq.*
—"As the blood-nurtured monarch" *sq.*
—"The Maiden rushing onward," *sq.*
The Retrospect.—"Oh, while well-pleased" *sq.*
A Tale of Paraguay.—Particularly Canto I, 13.

WILLIAM THOMPSON, 1712-1766.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XV.
II. The Magi: A Sacred Eclogue.—Biblical, but Oriental in tone.
III. An Hymn to May.—Stanza 13.

JAMES THOMSON, 1700-1748.

I. Poetical Works. Edited by D. C. Tovey. London, 1897. Two vols.
II. Prologue to Mallet's *Mustapha.*
III. Liberty. Part III.—"From the dire deserts" *sq.*
The Seasons.—Extensive passages in *Autumn*, *Summer*, and *Winter.*

JOHN TOBIN, 1770-1804.

I. The Honeymoon. In Inchbald's *British Theatre*, vol. XXV.
III. A brief passage in I, 1.

HORACE WALPOLE, 1717-1797.

I. Works. London, 1798. Four vols.
II. Epilogue to *Tamerlane.*
III. The Mysterious Mother.—II, 1.

IV. A Few Oriental touches in various poems; such as "crossing a gypsy's palm," "some luxurious Satrap's barbarous lust," etc.

JOSEPH WARTON, 1722-1800.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVIII.

III. Fashion: A Satire.—*Passim.*
Ode to Liberty.—*Passim.*

THOMAS WARTON, 1728-1790.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVIII.

II. Ode XII: The Crusade.

III. The Pleasures of Melancholy.—"What though beneath" *sq*
—"To me far happier" *sq.*
—"Yet feels the hoary hermit" *sq.*
Translations and Paraphrases.—Job.

CHARLES JEREMIAH WELLS, 1800-1879.

I. Joseph and His Brethren. With an Introduction by A. C. Swinburne. Oxford University Press, n. d. The World's Classics.

III. While this is a Biblical play, it has passages of distinctly Oriental quality. Note especially I, 3; Prologue to II; II, 3; and III, 3.

GILBERT WEST, 1703-1756.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XIII.

IV. Brief passages *passim.* Some touches in the translations from Pindar.

HENRY KIRKE WHITE, 1785-1806.

I. Complete Works. With an Account of his Life by Robert Southey. E. Kearny, New York, n. d.

II. Sonnet IX.

III. The Christiad.—*Passim.*
Gondoline: A Ballad.
Time.—VII; and brief passages *passim.*

PAUL WHITEHEAD, 1710-1774.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVI.
III. An Occasional Song.—Stanza 4.
The State Dunces: A Satire.—"But Asia's deserts" *sq.*

WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, 1715-1785.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVII.
The Roman Father. In Inchbald's *British Theatre*, vol. XIV.
II. Prologue to *The Orphan of China.*
III. A Charge to the Poets.—"Friend of the finer arts" *sq.*
An Hymn to the Nymph of Bristol Spring.
"Yet some there have been," *sq.*
"'Twas then, Avonia," *sq.*
On Nobility: An Epistle.—"In Turkey still" *sq.*

WILLIAM WILKIE, 1721-1772.

I. Poems in Chalmers, vol. XVI.
III. Fables: The Breeze and the Tempest.—"From Zembla to the burning zone" *sq.*

CHARLES WILKINS, 1794 (?)-1836.

IV. See *Dictionary of National Biography.*

JOHN WILSON, 1785-1854.

I. Works. Edited by J. F. Ferrier. Edinburgh and London, 1855-58. Twelve vols. Verse in vol. XII.
II. Lines written on seeing a Picture by Berghem.
Lines Written on Reading Mr. Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.
III. The Isle of Palms.—The tropical coloring of this poem shows some kinship with Oriental style.
IV. Touches and a few brief passages in other poems.

JOHN WOLCOTT, 1738-1819.

I. The Poetical Works of Peter Pindar, Esq. Dublin, 1788.
III. The Lousiad. Canto II.—"O Conscience! who to Clive" *sq.*
IV. Slight passages in other poems.

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, 1770-1850.

I. Poetical Works. Edited by William Knight. Edinburgh, 1882. Eleven vols.

II. "Ere with cold beads of midnight dew."
The Armenian Lady's Love.
Beggars.
Sequel.
Ecclesiastical Sketches.
Crusades.
Crusaders.
Missions and Travels.
The Egyptian Maid; or, The Romance of the Water Lily.
The French Army in Russia.
On the Same Occasion.
Gipsies.
"Go back to antique ages, if thine eyes."
The Prioress's Tale. From Chaucer.
The Russian Fugitive.
The Source of the Danube.
Suggested by a Picture of the Bird of Paradise.
III. Descriptive Sketches.—"The Grison gipsy" *sq.*
The Excursion.
Book III.—"Not less than that huge pile" *sq.*
—"But stop!—These theoretic fancies jar" *sq.*
Book IV.—"Within whose silent chambers" *sq.*
—"Whether the Persian" *sq.*
Book VII.—"Eastward, the Danube" *sq.*
A few other slight passages *passim*.
The Prelude.
Book V.—"A precious treasure "*sq.*
—"Sleep seized me" *sq.*
Book VI.—"Strong in herself and in beatitude" *sq.*
Book VII.—"There was a time" *sq.*
—"The Swede, the Russian;" *sq.*
—"Enjoyment haply handed down" *sq.*
Book VIII.—"With deep devotion, Nature," *sq.*
Book X.—"They—who had come elate" *sq.*

EDWARD YOUNG, 1681-1765.

I. Poetical Works. With a Memoir by the Rev. John Mitford. Boston, 1896. Two vols. in one. Aldine Edition.
III. The Consolation.
"Much less in art," *sq.* Vaguely Oriental.

"Range through the fairest," *sq.*

Love of Fame, The Universal Passion. Satire II.—"On buying books" *sq.*

Imperium Pelagi.

Strain I.—"His sons, Po, Ganges," *sq.*

Strain II.—*Passim.*

Strain V.—"Whence Tartar Grand," *sq.*

Ocean: An Ode.—"From Indian mines," *sq.*

A Paraphrase on the Book of Job.—*Passim.*

IV. The first citation given above is a good example of a passage which seems Oriental in significance, but has no direct reference to the Orient.

B. Collections of Poems

Aiken, John: Select Works of the British Poets from Ben Jonson to Beattie. With Biographical and Critical Notices. Ninth Edition. Thomas Wardle, Philadelphia, 1838.

Chalmers, Alexander: The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper. London, 1810. Twenty-one vols.

Frost, John: Select Works of the British Poets from Falconer to Sir Walter Scott. With Biographical Sketches. Thomas Wardle, Philadelphia, 1838.

[Frost, John:] Select Works of the British Poets from Southey to Croly. With Biographical and Critical Notices. J. Whetson and Son, Philadelphia, 1843.

Hamilton, Walter, Editor: Parodies of the Works of English and American Authors. London, 1884-9. Six vols.

Inchbald, Mrs. Elizabeth Simpson: The British Theatre. London, 1808. Twenty-five vols.

Inchbald, Mrs. Elizabeth Simpson: The Modern Theatre. London, 1811. Ten vols.

Jerrold, Walter, and R. M. Leonard, Editors: A Century of Parody and Imitation. The Oxford University Press, 1913.

Miles, Alfred H., Editor: The Poets and Poetry of the Century. London, n. d. Ten vols.

Morley, John, Editor: Parodies and Other Burlesque Pieces by George Canning, George Ellis, and John Hookham Frere. London, Glasgow, Manchester, and New York, 1890.

C. General Bibliographical Notes

1. Linguistic Works

Baker, Arthur E.: A Concordance to the Poetical and Dramatic Works of Alfred, Lord Tennyson. New York, 1914.

Bartlett, John: A New and Complete Concordance or Verbal Index to Words, Phrases and Passages in the Dramatic Works of Shakespeare. London and New York, 1894.

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Carey, William: Dictionary of Bhotanta. 1826.

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Cooper, Lane: Concordance to the Poems of William Wordsworth. London, 1911.

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Cunliffe, Richard John: A New Shakespearean Dictionary. London, Glasgow, and Bombay, 1910.

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Johnson, Samuel: A Dictionary of the English Language. Robert Gordon Lathan, Editor. London, 1870. Two vols.

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Lockwood, Laura E.: Lexicon to the English Poetical Works of John Milton. New York and London, 1907.

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II. Notes on Oriental Vocabulary

A. Oriental Vocabulary in Sir William Jones

The diction of Jones includes many words characteristic of the Oriental verse of our period in general, and a considerable number which are much more rare, in some cases probably unique. To the former class belong such words as antelopes, Arabian, Asiatic, asp, caravan, cypress, Egyptian, elephants, genii, jasmine, lotus, musk, myrtle, Nilus, rose, sandals, the names of several precious stones, etc. In the table below are given the most important words of the second class found in the text of Chalmers. Many of these words are explained in footnotes by the author. It will be noted that nearly all are nouns, and that a large proportion are proper names of deities, persons, or places. Most are simply transliterations; and few have an assured place in English dictionaries.

Abelah	Cumar	Laili	Ravi
Adda	Cumara	Langa	Reti
Aden	Curus	Laschmi	Rocnabad
Aditi		Lecshmy	Rucmini
Agnyastra	Daysa	Lelit	
Agra	Daysasha		Sachi
Ahmed	Dayscar	Mactigir	Sagar
Ajeirs	Deipec	Madhava	Samarcand
Amana	Deits	Magadh	Sambal
Amer	Devatas	Mahadeo	Sanscrit
Amra	Devtas	Mahadew	Sarat
Amrit	Dhenasry	Mahanadi	Sasin
Ananga	Dhriterashtra	Mahesa	Scythian
Arca	Draupaty	Maia	Seita
Arun	Durga	Malcaus	Seita Cund
Aryama	Duryodhen	Malsry	Sereswati
Asavery	Dwapar Yug	Maricha	Sereswaty
Asi	Dwarpayan	Martunda	Seyte Yug
Asmora	Dwaraca	Marva	Shambhawty
Asurs	Dyripetir	Mathuna	Sindhu
Aswatthama		Mathura	Singarhar
Aswin	Elachy	Matra	Siret
Azib	Erjun	Maya	Sisira
Azza		Maygh	Sita
	Gandac	Medhu	Siva
Bactrian	Gandharvas	Medhumadha	Sivy
Bala	Ganesa	Melar	Solima
Benares	Ganga	Mena	Soma
Bhagirath	Geda	Mengala	Subahdar

Bhairan
Bhairavy
Bhanu
Bhavani
Bhismarsu
Bhopaly
Bocara
Brahma
Brahman
Brahmaputra
Brindavan

Cailas
Cailasa
Caley
Caly Yug
Cali
Calinadi
Cama
Cambala
Camod
Candarpa
Cantesa
Canyacuvja
Carmasckhi
Carnaty
Cashgahr
Casi
Casyapa
Catels
Catha
Caydara
Cetaca
Champa
Chatacs
Chawla
Checra
Chitraratha
Chury
Coaba
Condals
Cosa
Cosecs
Crishna
Cubera

Gocul
Gogra
Gopa
Gopia
Gour
Goverdhen
Grishma
Gujry
Gumpi
Guncary
Gwury
Gyres

Hadramut
Haldea
Hara
Hementa
Heri
Heridaswa
Himalaya
Himansu
Himola
Hindol
Hindustan

Indra
Indrani
Indraprest
Indraprestha
Isa
Is'wara

Jafer
Jami
Jeifel
Joutery

Kais
Kemel
Ki
Kiticum
Krishen
Kytabh

Lacshmi
Ladon

Menru
Merich
Meru
Mihira
Mosellay

Nagkeser
Nairrit
Narac
Narayan
Narayena
Nared
Nargal
Nawadwip
Netta
Nipal

Ormus
Oshadhi

Palamau
Palanqueen
Pana
Pandu
Parvati
Patala
Patali
Pedma
Pedmala
Pedmanabha
Peitamber
Pendit
Petmenjary
Piepel
Pulomaja
Purander

Ragnys
Rahu
Rajas
Rajahs
Rama
Rancary
Rangamar
Ranies

Sudaman
Suderman
Sumeru
Supiary
Sura
Suranimnaga
Surya
Swerga

Taraca
Teic
Tenca
Toda
Trisrota
Tulsy

Vacadevy
Vahni
Valmic
Vamuna
Vani
Varan
Varuna
Vasanta
Vasava
Vedas
Venamaly
Versha
Vinatian
Virawer
Vishnupedi
Verihaspati
Vishnu
Vraga
Vrindavan
Vyas
Vyasa

Yama
Yamuna
Yudishteir
Yudhishteir
Yunan

Zeineb

B. English Words of Oriental Derivation

The following list is by no means complete. It is taken from the "Distribution of Words" in Skeat, Edition of 1910, pp. 761-780; this list then being revised by the *New International Dictionary* of 1910.

The following abbreviations are used: A.—Arabic; C.— Chinese; E.—Egyptian; H.—Hindustani; M.—Malay; O.—"Oriental"; P.—Persian; S.—Sanskrit; T.—Turkish.

Admiral. A.
Alcayde. A.
Alcohol. A.
Alcoran. A.
Alcove. A.
Algebra. A.
Alguazil. A.
Alkali. A.
Amadavat.
India.
Amber. A.
Aniline. S.
Anna. Hindi.
Areca. Canarese.
Argosy.
Dalmatian.
Arrack. A.
Arsenal. A.
Artichoke. A. (?)
Asafetida. P-Lat.
Asparagus. P. (?)
Assagai.
Berber.
Assassin. A.
Atabal. A.
Attar. P.-A. (?)
Avatar. S.
Azimuth. A.
Azure. P.

Balas. A.
Bamboo. M.
Bangle. H.
Banian. S.
Banyan. S.
Baobob.
West African.

Cotton. A.
Cowry. H.
Creese. M.
Crimson. S.
Cubeb. A.
Curry. Tamil.

Dervish. P.
Dey. T.
Divan. P.
Dragoman. A.
Drosky. R.
Dugong. M.
Durbar. P.

Elixir. A.
Emir. A.

Fakir. A.
Fellah. A.
Fez. From the town Fez.
Firman. P.
Fustian. E.

Galangal. A.
Gamboge.
From Cambodia (Siam).
Garble. A.
Gazelle. A.
Genet. A.
Ghoul. A.
Giaour. T.
Ginger. O.
Giraffe. A.
Gnu. Kaffir.

Lory. M.
Lute. A. (?)

Mace. S. (?)
Magazine. A.
Magi. P.
Mameluke. A.
Mammoth.
Russian.
Mandarin. H.
Mango. Tamil.
Mangrove.
M.-English.
Mattress. A.
Minaret. A.
Mogul. P.
Mohair. A.
Mohammedan. A.
Mohur. P.
Monsoon. A.
Moonshee. A.
Morse. R.
Moslem. A.
Mosque. A.
Muezzin. A.
Mufti. A.
Musk. P.
Mussulman. A.

Nabob. A.
Nadir. A.
Nankeen. C.
Nilgai. P.

Orange. P.-A.
Orang-outang. M.
Ottoman. A.

Sarcenet. A. (?)
Sash. A.
Satrap. P.
Scarlet.
A.-P.-Lat.
Scimitar. P. (?)
Seguin. A.
Senna. A.
Sepoy. P.
Shagreen. T.
Shah. P.
Shampoo. H.
Shawl.
P. or H.
Sheik. A.
Sherbet. A.
Shrub. A.
Silk. O. (?)
Simoom. A.
Sirocco. A.
Slave.
Slavonic.
Sofa. A.
Soy. C.
Spinach. A.-P.
Steppe. R.
Sugar. S.
Sultan. A.
Sumac. A.

Tabby. A.
Taboo.
Polynesian.
Taffeta. P.
Talc. A.
Talk.
Lithuanian.

Basil. A.
Bazaar. P.
Bedouin. A.
Beg. T.
Begum. T.
Benzoin. A.
Beryl. S. (?)
Betel.
  Tamil.
Bezoar. P.
Bhang. P.
Bohea. C.
Borax. P.
Brahman. S.
Brilliant. S. (?)
Bungalow.
  Bengali.

Caddy. M.
Cadi. A.
Caftan. T.
Calash. Slavonic.
Cali. A.
Calico.
  East Indian.
Camphor. S.
Candy. S.
Caravan. P.
Caravansary. P.
Carob. A.
Cashmere.
  Cashmere.
Cassowary. M.
Catamaran.
  Tamil.
Champac. S.
Check. P.
Cheetah. H.
Chimpanzee.
  African.
Chintz. H.
Chouse. T.
Cinnabar. P.
Cipher. A.
Civet. A.
Cockatoo. M.
Coffee. T.-A.
Cossack. Russian.

Gong. M.
Gorilla.
  W. African.
Gum. Probably E.
Gutta-percha. M.

Harem. A.
Hazard. A.
Hegira. A.
Henna. A.
Hooka. A. or P.
Horde. T.
Howdah. A.
Howitzer.
  Bohemian.
Houri. A.
Hussar. Hungarian-Latin.

Ibis. E.

Jackal. P.
Jagonelle. P.
Janizary. T.
Jar. A.
Jasmine. P.
Jerboa. A.
Julep. P.
Jungle. S.
Jute. S.

Kangaroo.
  Australian.
Kermes. A. andP.
Khan.
  P. and Tatar.
Khedive. P.
Kiosk. T.
Koran. A.

Lac.
  East Indian.
Lama. Tibetan.
Lascar. P.
Lemon. P.
Lilac. P.
Lime. A.
Loot. A. (?)

Pagoda. P. (?)
Palanquin. S.
Paradise.
  Avestan.
Paramatta.
  Australian.
Pariah. Tamil.
Parsi. H.-P.
Parvis.
  Avestan.
Pasha. T.
Pawnee. H.
Peacock. O. (?)
Peri. P.
Pice. H.
Pistachio. P.
Polka. Bohemian.
Proa. M.
Pundit. S.
Punch. S.
Punkah. H.

Quagga. Zulu.

Racket. A.
Rajah. S.
Rajut. S.
Rattan. M.
Realgar. A.
Ream. A.
Rebec. A. (?)
Reindeer.
  Lapp.
Rice. S. (?)
Rook. P.-A.
Rouble. R.
Rupee. S.
Ryot. A.-H.

Sable. Slavonic.
Saccharine. S.
Saffron. A.-P.
Sago. M.
Salaam. A.
Sandal-wood S.
Sanskrit. S.
Saraband. P.
Saracen. A. (?)

Tamarind. A.-P.
Taraxacum.
  A. (?)-P. (?)
Tare. A.
Tariff. A.
Tartar. A. (?)
Tattoo.
  Tahitan.
Tea.
  Chinese.
Teak. M.
Thug. H.
Tiara. P.
Tiger. P. (?)
Toddy. H.
Tokay.
  Hungarian.
Tom-tom. H.
Tulip. T.
Turban. T.
Turk.
  P.-Tatar (?)

Uhlan. Tatar.
Ukase. R.

Vampire.
  Servian.
Van. P.
Veda. S.
Veranda. P. (?)
Verst. R.
Vizier. A.

Wombat.
  Australian.

Yak. Tibetan.
Yataghan. T.

Zamindar. P.
Zanana. P.
Zebra.
  Abyssinian.
Zedoary. A.-P.
Zenith. A.
Zero. A.
Zouave. Algerian.

C. Oriental Vocabulary in the King James Version of the Bible

The King James version of the Bible includes the following words which may be considered as belonging to the Oriental vocabulary of our period, though the Bible is not necessarily to be viewed as a source.

Adder
Agate
Almond
Aloes
Amber
Amethyst
Ape
Asia
Asp
Assyria
Assyrian
Astaroth

Baal
Babylon
Balm
Belshazzar
Beryl

Camel
Cane
Carbuncle
Cassia
Cedar
Chaldea
Chaldeans
Chaldees
Chrysolite
Cinnamon
Cymbals
Cypress
Cyprus
Cyrene

Dalmatia
Damascus
Desert
Diamond
Dromedary
Dulcimer

Eden
Egypt
Egyptian
Emerald
Ethiopia
Ethiopian
Eunuch
Euphrates

Fig-tree
Frankincense

Gold
Grove

Idol
Idumea
India

Jacinth
Jah
Jasper

Lebanon
Leopard
Libya
Lizard
Locust
Lute

Mandrake
Medes
Media
Melons
Myrrh

Nard
Nimrod
Nineveh

Olive
Onyx
Ophir

Palm-tree
Parthians
Peacock
Pearls
Pelican
Persia
Persian
Pharaoh
Phenicia
Phrygia
Pomegranate

Red-Sea
Rose
Ruby

Sabeans
Saffron
Sand
Sapphire
Sardonyx
Saron
Sharon
Sidon
Sidonians
Spicery
Spikenard
Sycamore
Syria
Syrians

Tent
Timbrel
Topaz

Viper
Vulture

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The Land Credit Problem

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Fortunately, the history of the United States is not, like that of some countries, the history of a peasantry struggling for land. In the early agricultural organization of this country the land problem was non-existent. There was not, as in Europe, any feudal system to be broken, concentration in land ownership to foster rural discontent, nor landlord and tenant relations to be adjusted. From the very beginning the supply of unoccupied land was abundant, and it was possible for the man of small means to become his own master, the owner of 160 acres of land, with scarcely any financial assistance.

This free and easy path to land ownership and economic independence was due to the establishment of the public-land system. Shortly after the close of the Revolution, the several states ceded the greater portion of their unsold lands to the federal government, which then began to devise plans for their sale and settlement. At first, the policy adopted by the central government for the disposition of the public lands was actuated by financial considerations. To the West was a boundless stretch of unoccupied territory which was regarded as "an asset to be cashed at once for payment of current expenses of Government and extinguishment of the national debt".[1] Accordingly, land was sold in large tracts at a comparatively low price per acre. From 1785 to 1796 the minimum price was $1 per acre;[2] from 1796 to 1820, $2 per acre;[3] and in the latter year the price was reduced to $1.25 per

1. Donaldson: *The Public Domain*, p. 196.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

acre.[4] Irrespective of the motive which first prompted the government to dispose of the public land in this manner, the ownership of land was, at these prices, well within the reach of the young man seeking economic independence.

In the meantime the public-land policy was undergoing a significant change. The plan, fathered by Alexander Hamilton, of disposing of the public land for the sake of the revenue it would yield to the federal government was gradually giving way to a policy which regarded the rapid settlement of the western territory as a factor in national development. From 1801 to 1841 there was developed in sixteen special acts the preëmption system, which gave preference to actual settlers in the sale of land. Under this system a settler was allowed to enter upon a tract of land before it had been offered at public sale. After he had lived upon the tract for a limited period and had improved and cultivated a portion of his holdings, he could acquire a title to the land on payment of $1.25 per acre.[5]

The climax of the policy of favoring the actual settler was reached with the passage of the Homestead Act in 1862. The law was the result of ten years of agitation for free land. In 1852 the Free Soil Democrats, assembled in National Convention, had resolved "that the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals, nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers".[6]

Moreover, "the rich and fertile lands of the Mississippi Valley were fast filling up with settlers. Agricultural lands in the Middle States, which, after the year 1824, were bought for $1.25 per acre, now sold at from $50 to $80 per acre. Former purchasers of these Government lands in the Middle, Western, and Southern States were selling their early purchases for this great advance, and moving west, to Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Missouri, and there again taking cheap Government lands under the preëmption laws.

"The western emigration caused a rush—a migration of neigh-

4. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 332.

borhoods in many localities of the older Western States. Following the sun, their pillar of fire, these State founders moved westward, a resistless army of agents of American civilization, and there was a demand for homes on the public lands, and a strong pressure for the enactment of a law which should confine locators to small tracts, and require actual occupation, improvement, and cultivation."[7]

The Homestead Act and its amendments marked the third important step in the disposition of the vast public domain. For a nominal fee it gave to "a settler—a man or woman over the age of twenty-one, a citizen of the United States or having declared an intention of becoming such—the right to locate upon 160 acres of unoccupied public land in any of the public-land States and Territories subject to entry at a United States land office, to live upon the same for a period of five years, and upon proof of a compliance with the law, to receive a patent therefor free of cost or charge for the land".[8]

The effect of this generous treatment accorded to the farmer by the federal government was far-reaching in its significance. In the first place, it meant that the farmer was independent of the financial institutions not only in the matter of acquiring a farm but also in its improvement and cultivation. Few improvements, in fact, were needed. With the early settlers, about the only improvement which called for immediate attention was the clearing of a portion of the land and the construction of a shelter. Once a small space had been cleared of trees and forest growth, the work of cultivation was comparatively simple because of the natural fertility of the soil. While nature was thus engaged in the growing of crops the farmer was able to devote his time to the complete conquest of the forest. And later, when the tide of westward expansion had reached the western slope of the Mississippi Valley, the settler was even relieved of the preliminary task of clearing his farm. Here were farms already made, with virgin soil that responded bountifully and immediately to careless and extensive methods of cultivation. Under these conditions, which prevailed generally throughout the Middle West, the business

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 332-333.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 350.

of farming was practically independent of the commercial banking system.

In the second place, the public-land policy was instrumental in producing a type of American farmer totally different in mode of living and economic status from the agricultural workers of Europe. His life was that of a pioneer, spent in comparative isolation. He seldom saw his neighbors, if he had any, but strangers were always welcome. In his reckoning of character, present worth counted for most, antecedents for least. Moreover, with his Bible and his ax he was well-nigh self-sufficient. He paid no rent to an absentee landlord nor looked to charity when overtaken by misfortune. He was essentially a home builder and a home owner, a farmer rather than a proletarian, who enjoyed the full product of his own labor. "Such men", wrote Jefferson, "are the true representatives of the great American interest, and are alone to be relied on for expressing the proper American sentiments".[9]

No less marked in significance was the effect which the land supply had upon the welfare of the laboring classes. On the farm the labor problem was acute. Few there were who cared to work in the hire of another when it was possible for one to become his own master on his own land. Likewise, the frontier offered a life of independence to those who found the conditions of employment in the factory and workshop unpromising or intolerable. To have been born in the ranks of a wage-earning class was no severe handicap. One could easily rise above the status of "low birth". Laborers had an alternative of economic independence by virtue of which employers were constrained to recognize efficiency as it appeared and to grant an early preferment to those worthy of further employment. Being conscious of their ability to rise, however humble in origin, they had ambition and incentive which in turn reacted favorably upon their productive powers and the scale of labor remuneration.

It is little wonder, therefore, that the passion for freedom and democracy has long been regarded as one of the chief characteristics of the American people. At a very early date the spirit of equality became the rule, not because it was decreed that "all men were created equal", but because the conditions under which men made their living were conducive to the development of that

9. *Works* (Washington ed.); Vol. IV, p. 197.

spirit. Land was the predominant form of wealth and it was abundant; all were free to become landowners; and while there was undoubtedly a certain inequality in material possessions, there was, nevertheless, an approximate equality in opportunity.

Finally, the large supply of free and fertile land determined in advance the character of agricultural methods. The scarcity of labor and the abundance of land gave rise to methods of tillage which conserved the former and wasted the latter. If the farmer realized a surplus from his farming operations, it was more profitable to invest his funds in additional land and await the natural increase in value than to attempt to increase the productivity of the land he already possessed. Or, if he had gotten all from the land that its fertility would yield, he might abandon his exhausted farm and migrate to newer and fresher territory. Even the immigrants who came from Northern and Western Europe to settle upon the public lands soon abandoned the use of intensive methods, to which they had been accustomed, for the more profitable "cut and cover" methods employed by the American farmer. Thus a premium was placed on waste and soil depletion. The course most profitable to the farmer was the one most wasteful to society. Most unfortunate of all was the fact that farmers were being schooled generation after generation under a demoralizing system, the effects of which still linger.

But whatever may be said as to the merits or demerits of the public-land system, it gave a great impetus to agricultural settlement. Within a century after the time of its inception there remained only a small area of public land available for cultivation. The disposition of the public domain from its origin to June 30, 1880, is estimated by Donaldson at 547,754,483 acres.[10] According to the annual reports of the General Land Office, 578,283,140 acres were disposed of between 1880 and 1915. On July 1, 1915, there were 279,544,494 acres of public land in the United States unappropriated and unreserved[11]—less than one-seventh of the total land area. Most of the land still open for settlement is to be found in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, and Wyoming.

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10. *The Public Domain*, p. 22.
11. *Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office*, 1915, p. 120.

The importance of free land in the settlement of the public domain is shown in the following table:[12]

FINAL HOMESTEAD ENTRIES FROM THE PASSAGE OF THE HOMESTEAD ACT TO JUNE 30, 1915

Fiscal Year Ended June 30	Number	Acres
1868	2,772	355,086.04
1869	3,965	504,301.97
1870	4,041	519,727.84
1871	5,087	629,162.25
1872	5,917	707,409.93
1873	10,311	1,224,890.93
1874	14,129	1,585,781.56
1875	18,293	2,068,537.74
1876	22,530	2,590,552.81
1877	19,900	2,407,828.19
1878	22,460	2,662,986.82
1879	17,391	2,070,842.39
1880	15,441	1,938,234.90
1881	15,077	1,928,204.76
1882	17,174	2,219,458.80
1883	18,998	2,504,414.51
1884	21,843	2,945,574.72
1885	22,066	3,032,679.11
1886	19,356	2,663,531.83
1887	19,866	2,749,037.48
1888	22,413	3,175,400.64
1889	25,549	3,681,708.80
1890	28,080	4,060,592.77
1891	27,686	3,954,587.77
1892	22,822	3,259,897.07
1893	24,204	3,477,231.63
1894	20,544	2,929,947.41
1895	20,922	2,980,809.30
1896	20,099	2,790,242.55
1897	20,115	2,778,404.20
1898	22,281	3,095,017.75
1899	22,812	3,134,140.44
1900	25,286	3,477,842.71
1901	37,568	5,241,120.76
1902	31,627	4,342,747.70
1903	26,373	3,576,964.14
1904	23,932	3,232,716.75
1905	24,621	3,419,387.15
1906	25,546	3,526,748.58
1907	26,485	3,740,567.71
1908	29,636	4,242,710.59
1909	25,510	3,699,466.79
1910	23,253	3,795,862.89
1911	25,908	4,620,197.12
1912	24,326	4,306,068.52
1913	53,252	10,009,285.16
1914	48,724	9,291,121.46
1915	37,343	7,180,981.62
Total	1,063,534	154,327,812.45

Although the free distribution of land has continued steadily down to the present time, final entries had been made on the best lands of the Mississippi Valley during the years before 1890. Thereafter settlers were obliged to enter upon lands greatly inferior in quality or to await the opening of Indian reservations to white

12. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

settlers. In recent years the opening of these reservations has been the big factor in the settlement of the public lands. Since the close of the last century, vast areas have been made available to settlers in Oklahoma, Florida, North Dakota, Wyoming, Montana, New Mexico, and the Pacific Coast States. And in nearly every instance where reserved land has been opened for settlement, the number of applicants registered for homesteads has far exceeded the number of farms available for distribution. This fact suggests that the free and easy path to land ownership was practically closed by 1890, when the best land had been taken up.

The practical exhaustion of the supply of free land in 1890 marked the beginning of a new era in the economic history of the United States of no less significance than the establishment of the public-land system itself. The change became apparent just before the close of the century, following a long period of maladjustment. The rapid settlement of the fertile lands of the Mississippi Valley and the subsequent increase in the volume of farm products caused, after 1873, a gradual decline in the prices of agricultural products. Farmers who were seeking to acquire a title to land under the homestead or preëmption laws cultivated their farms in order to conform to the requirements of the law. Moreover, in the cultivation of their land they made extensive use of farm machinery in order to secure, at the same time, the largest possible reward for their labor. Under these conditions, low prices obtained for agricultural products and agricultural discontent became general. For the time being agriculture had outgrown its proper relation to industry. It had evolved from a self-sufficient to a commercial undertaking which was proving altogether unprofitable.

By 1896, however, prices had reached their lowest ebb and, with the return of business prosperity, began a rapid upward bound which has steadily continued. The general increase in the prices of various farm products during the last twenty years is shown in the following table:[13]

13. The farm prices of December 1 for each year, as reported by the *Yearbook of the Department of Agriculture*, 1915, pp. 412-463, are averaged by five-year periods.

	1896-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	1911-1915
Corn, per bushel	$0.28	$0.46	$0.52	$0 60
Wheat, per bushel	.66	.72	.86	.89
Oats, per bushel	.23	.33	.39	.42
Barley, per bushel	.38	.44	.55	.59
Potatoes, per bushel	.41	.58	.59	.62
Hay, per ton	7.06	9.07	10.73	12.06

No sooner had the rise in the prices of farm products been generally felt than the value of land, which before 1900 had been subject to fluctuation and uncertainty, began rapidly to rise. In 1900 the average value of land per acre exclusive of buildings was $15.57; by 1910 it had risen to $32.40.[14] In many of the newer states west of the Mississippi, the price of land more than trebled. Apparently there had come over investors a full realization of the fact that the supply of unoccupied land which could be brought under cultivation was practically exhausted, and that a further rise in agricultural prices was imminently certain. These considerations, coupled with the realization that the rate of interest was gradually falling, led investors to offer exorbitant prices for farms—prices that were, in the vast majority of cases, out of all proportion to the then productive capacity of land. What they failed to realize on their investments in the present they expected to recover with interest in the future. The mere prospect of securing an unearned increment had a cumulative effect on land values.

But while the general rise in the value of farm land was filling the coffers of the landowning classes, it was having an adverse effect on the economic status of the landless man. No longer could the man of small means who aspired to a position of economic independence rely upon the generosity of the federal government. On the contrary, he must needs serve a long period of apprenticeship either as a tenant or laborer before he could acquire sufficient means to purchase a farm of his own. In some of the older agricultural states, where, on account of a certain immobility on the part of farmers, the status of tenancy was deemed preferable to the isolation and hardships of frontier life, an increase in the percentage of tenancy had already begun. In 1880, 25.6 per cent of all the farmers in the United States were tenants. In spite of the fact that home seekers were continually appropriating new farms

14. *Thirteenth Census of the United States;* Vol. V, p. 28.

on the public domain, the percentage of tenancy had risen to 37 by 1910.[15] Manifestly, the status of the home seeker had been altered. The rise in the value of land had, in many cases, rendered ownership by the actual cultivator unprofitable if not altogether impossible. It had destroyed that approximate equality of opportunity which obtained when land was free. In short, a problem of land tenure was gradually developing.

Nor has the welfare of the laboring classes been unaffected. While it is true that the rise in the general level of food prices has been accompanied by a rise in the level of money wages, the latter has not kept pace with the former. In other words, real wages have fallen. There seems to be abundant evidence of a substantial decline. According to a recent computation made by Rubinow, the index of real wages per week rose from 99.4 in 1890, to 104.7 in 1896; but thereafter a decline set in, reaching the low figure of 85.3 in 1912.[16] It is his conclusion that "the American wage-worker, notwithstanding his strenuous efforts to adjust wages to these new price conditions, notwithstanding all his strikes, boycotts, and riots, notwithstanding all the picturesque I. W. W.-ism, new unionism, and the modish sabotage, has been losing surely and not even slowly, so that the sum total of economic progress of this country for the last quarter of a century appears to be a loss of from 10 to 15 per cent in his earning power".[17]

Various explanations might be offered to account for the material decline in real wages, but among these explanations a more prominent place than most writers have conceded should be given to the fact that the land supply, which had always been able to absorb a large share of the labor surplus, was beginning to wane in importance. Moreover, the character of the immigrant population was changing. The earlier immigrants had come from Northern and Western Europe for the purpose of acquiring farm homes; now they were coming from Southern and Eastern Europe expecting to enter the ranks of industrial workers. The effect of their numbers was to augment the labor surplus, overstock the labor market, and weaken the bargaining power of the American laborer.

In the first place, then, the period of rising prices after 1896, itself the product of many factors, called for the strengthening of

15. *Thirteenth Census of the United States;* Vol. V, p. 102.
16. *American Economic Review;* Vol. IV, Dec., 1914, p. 811.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 813.

the laborer's bargaining power if the level of real wages was to be maintained. But the laborer was unable to maintain an even ratio between his bargaining power and his increasing productive capacity, because on account of the rise in the value of land the alternative which he formerly enjoyed of becoming an independent landowner no longer existed. It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that if the supply of farm land had remained cheap and plentiful, it would have absorbed a large portion of the labor surplus and those who chose to remain in the field of industry could have secured a larger share of their product.

Of equal significance is the effect which higher land values have had and promise to have upon the character of agricultural methods. The old extensive and soil-depleting system of cultivation has at last become relatively unprofitable. Land must be conserved and its productivity increased if a large product per man is to be obtained. While the time has not yet arrived when the farmer should attempt to "make two blades of grass grow where one grew before", the continued rise in the price of land and farm products will necessitate a complete readjustment of the proportion in which land, labor, and capital are now employed.

Already there is an urgent need for readjustment, but the need is not fully appreciated by most farmers. As a class they are slow to adapt themselves to changing conditions. Having been reared under the old school of waste and independent action they are loath to adopt new methods which would increase the product per acre without lowering the product per man. It is too often the case that farmers lag behind with their farming, content in the knowledge that they have made money in land whether they have grown crops or not. Where this attitude is prevalent and persistent little immediate progress can be expected, and the problem of better farming must be left to the younger generation of farmers.

Nevertheless, some progress has been made during the last fifteen years. Unfortunately, the census of 1890 grouped the value of land and buildings together. In 1900 and 1910, however, the value of buildings was listed separately and a comparison shows an increase per farm of 62.3 per cent.[18] During the same decade the value of implements and machinery per farm increased 65.8 per

18. *Thirteenth Census of the United States;* Vol. V, p. 28.

cent;[19] while the total amount expended by the American farmer for fertilizer and labor increased 115[20] and 82.3[21] per cent respectively. The increase in the value of these items shows some appreciation on the part of farmers of the imperative need for improved methods—better housing for better stock, the prevention of soil depletion, better equipment and machinery, and more intensive cultivation. Yet with all these expenditures there is no evidence to show that the product per acre has increased in the slightest degree. The present agricultural stage is one of transition, and until the farmer has paid in full the price of his reckless schooling the returns from his capital expenditures will be represented only in the maintenance of the productive capacity of his farm. What prosperity he now enjoys is due entirely to the high level of prices.

As a final effect of the rise in the value of land and the growing demands of agricultural progress, the farmer has been obliged to depend more and more upon his marketing ability and his borrowing power. With the disappearance of the American frontier, the backwoods occupation of farming has at last become a business. As such, it requires a knowledge of three distinct kinds of business practice, *i. e.*, production, marketing, and finance. Although it would be difficult to estimate which one of these departments of farming is most important, leaders in agricultural education have, until recently, been wont to emphasize only the need of reform in the business of growing crops. The advancement of other departments of the business has been generally neglected. As a result of this neglect, the system under which the farmer sells his products and borrows his capital has become uneconomical, ill-adapted, and obsolete.

It is about the problem of agricultural finance that chief interest now centers. In discussing the nature of this problem, the fact should be borne in mind that the capital requirements of farmers are supplied by two forms of loans—the long-term and the short-term. The long-term loan is used in aiding to pay the purchase price of land, in making permanent improvements, and in providing those forms of productive equipment which are too expensive to be met out of the earnings of two successive years. As

19. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 28.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 561.
21. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 560.

security for such loans, the farmer gives a mortgage on his land.

Just as the long-term or land-mortgage loan is needed for the purchase and improvement of the farm, so the short-term or personal loan is necessary in the growing of crops. From the time the ground is prepared and the seed planted until the crop is harvested a period of six or nine months may have elapsed. In the meantime the farmer's income is small and his expenses heavy. He is obliged to make continual advances for the payment of wages and for the purchase of productive equipment and supplies. Funds are required not only to grow the crops but also to tide him over until his products have been sold. The lender's security for the short-term loan may be in the form of a chattel mortgage or it may consist solely of the farmer's personal integrity.

In the following chapters, attention will be given to only one phase of the farmer's credit problem, *i. e.*, the problem of long-term or land-mortgage credit; not because the problem of personal credit is unimportant but because the two problems are absolutely distinct. The lines of procedure to be followed in dealing with one are totally ill-adapted to deal with the other. Furthermore, it is the writer's firm conviction that much of the land credit legislation already in force is of doubtful character and, for reasons which will subsequently appear, that the solution of the farmer's land credit problem is for the present of far more pressing importance.

CHAPTER II

Land Mortgage Credit in the United States

The census of 1890, the first to make any definite inquiry into the extent of farm mortgage indebtedness in the United States, reported a total mortgage debt of $1,085,995,960[22] on farms operated by their owners and on farms whose owners rented additional land. These figures include an estimate of the mortgage debt on those farms from which incomplete reports were obtained. No attempt was made to ascertain the amount of mortgage debt on farms operated by tenants or hired managers for the obvious reason that these operators are not likely to have accurate information as to whether the farms which they operate are mortgaged, and still less as to the amount of mortgage debt.

Unfortunately, the data secured by the census of 1900 are of little comparative value as they relate only to the number of farm homes mortgaged. But in 1910 the census enumerators again attempted to ascertain the extent of farm mortgage indebtedness, reporting a total of $1,726,172,851.[23] This amount, however, does not include an estimate of the indebtedness on farms from which incomplete reports were obtained, nor does it include the indebtedness on farms whose owners rented additional land. Of these farms there is a considerable number. The figures for 1890 and 1910 are not, therefore, strictly comparable, but they show conclusively the existence of a growing demand for land credit.

Many have viewed with alarm the growth in the number of mortgaged farms, believing it to be an unmistakable sign of agricultural adversity. But this attitude is not well founded. Although farms are frequently mortgaged on account of poor crops, mismanagement, or unavoidable misfortune, such indebtedness more often represents an unpaid portion of the cost of the farm, expenditures for additional land, buildings, and other permanent improvements. Notwithstanding the increase in the number of

22. *Thirteenth Census of the United States;* Vol. V, p. 162.
23. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 162.

mortgaged farms from 1890 to 1910, the ratio of the farmer's debt to the value of his land actually declined. While the average amount of mortgage indebtedness per farm increased from $1,224 in 1890 to $1,715 in 1910, the owner's equity per farm increased from $2,220 to $4,574, or more than doubled. It can scarcely be maintained that farmers as a class were less prosperous in 1910 than in 1890. On the contrary, there is plenty of evidence to show that the most prosperous and progressive agriculture obtains in those states where the mortgage indebtedness is the greatest. In the South, where the percentage of farms free from mortgage debt has been unusually large, agriculture has developed only as the percentage of mortgaged farms increased.

Perhaps the most satisfactory estimate of the extent of mortgage indebtedness in the United States is the one recently made by members of the Department of Agriculture. On the basis of the Thirteenth Census figures, supplemented by actual field study, they have estimated the total mortgage debt on all farms, whether operated by owners, managers, or tenants, to be $3,598,985,000.[24] In the distribution of this debt among the several states, the proportion is much the same as that reported by the Thirteenth Census. Iowa has the largest farm mortgage debt of any state. It is followed by Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, Texas, and Kansas. Of the total mortgage indebtedness for the whole country, 64 per cent is found in the North Central States alone.

The table[25] on page 21, prepared by the Department of Agriculture, shows by states the estimated total farm mortgage debt and the extent to which farm mortgages are held by life insurance companies and banks.

At present, life insurance companies are one of the most important sources of land credit. The data on page 21 show that two hundred and twenty companies with assets representing more than 99 per cent of the total assets of all life companies in the United States had, in October, 1915, when their reports were tabulated, $695,536,000 invested in farm mortgages. Among these companies, the Northwestern Mutual of Milwaukee is the heaviest single lender on mortgage security. On December 31, 1915, it had outstanding farm mortgage loans to the amount of

24. Tabular statement of C. W. Thompson, *Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Joint Committee on Rural Credits*, 64 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 107.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

QUANTITATIVE DATA RELATIVE TO FARM MORTGAGE LOANS
(Figures for amounts represent thousands of dollars)

Geographic division and State	Estimated total farm mortgage debt*	Farm mortgages held by life insurance companies**		Farm mortgages held by banks†	
		Amount	Per cent of estimated total	Amount	Per cent of estimated total
United States	3,598,985	695,536	19.3	739,500	20.6
Geographic divisions:					
New England	80,544	1,702	2.1	84,900	105.4
Middle Atlantic	313,156	556	.2	30,900	9.9
East North Central	944,436	121,075	12.8	220,000	23.3
West North Central	1,375,903	426,960	31.0	216,400	15.7
South Atlantic	153,155	22,930	15.0	40,800	26.6
East South Central	127,135	22,871	18.0	33,600	26.4
West South Central	299,614	72,685	24.3	27,900	9.3
Mountain	101,285	12,532	12.4	19,800	19.5
Pacific	203,757	14,225	7.0	65,200	32.0
New England:					
Maine	13,727	15	.1	6,000	43.7
New Hampshire	6,100	.....	.....	12,500	204.9
Vermont	17,113	13	.1	46,700	272.9
Massachusetts	24,077	9	††	8,700	36.2
Rhode Island	2,514	.....	.....	6,000	238.7
Connecticut	17,013	1,665	9.8	5,000	29.4
Middle Atlantic:					
New York	168,234	128	.1	18,200	10.8
New Jersey	35,610	222	.6	2,600	7.3
Pennsylvania	109,312	206	.2	10,100	9.2
East North Central:					
Ohio	130,678	17,073	13.1	26,200	20.1
Indiana	132,325	48,789	36.9	52,000	39.3
Illinois	355,802	51,046	14.3	56,200	15.8
Michigan	118,950	1,706	1.4	44,900	37.8
Wisconsin	206,681	2,461	1.2	40,700	19.7
West North Central:					
Minnesota	145,181	35,577	24.5	43,600	30.0
Iowa	469,063	150,150	32.0	104,800	22.3
Missouri	223,107	59,699	26.8	34,900	15.6
North Dakota	100,364	19,423	19.4	5,000	5.0
South Dakota	92,467	31,024	33.6	6,200	6.7
Nebraska	165,015	66,614	40.4	10,400	6.3
Kansas	180,706	64,473	35.7	11,500	6.4
South Atlantic:					
Delaware	6,857	46	.7	1,600	23.3
Maryland	32,393	492	1.5	6,000	18.5
Virginia	25,007	670	2.7	5,000	20.0
West Virginia	8,725	23	.3	1,700	19.5
North Carolina	21,005	2,267	10.8	6,900	32.9
South Carolina	24,967	3,884	15.6	9,000	36.1
Georgia	29,711	15,479	52.1	8,000	26.9
Florida	4,490	69	1.5	2,600	57.9
East South Central:					
Kentucky	41,305	7,170	17.4	13,300	32.2
Tennessee	25,468	10,674	41.9	4,000	15.7
Alabama	25,943	1,771	6.8	3,700	14.3
Mississippi	34,419	3,256	9.5	12,600	36.6
West South Central:					
Arkansas	21,023	4,259	20.3	5,700	27.1
Louisiana	21,141	1,500	7.1	9,000	42.6
Oklahoma	73,129	29,065	39.7	2,100	2.9
Texas	184,321	37,861	20.5	11,100	6.0
Mountain:					
Montana	17,111	3,518	20.6	5,200	30.4
Idaho	21,566	2,948	13.7	2,200	10.2
Wyoming	7,148	487	6.8	1,200	16.8
Colorado	36,767	3,135	8.5	2,100	5.7
New Mexico	4,585	1,191	26.0	400	8.7
Arizona	4,161	376	9.0	1,600	38.5
Utah	6,818	862	12.6	6,000	88.0
Nevada	3,129	15	.5	1,100	35.2
Pacific:					
Washington	43,470	3,087	7.1	5,000	11.5
Oregon	35,535	1,091	3.1	4,100	11.5
California	124,752	10,047	8.1	56,100	45.0

* Estimates based on Thirteenth Census figures.
** Figures actually reported by 220 companies, with assets representing more than 99 per cent of the total admitted assets of all life insurance companies in the country.
† Estimates based on reports received from banks.
†† Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

$103,769,238. It was followed by the Mutual Benefit of Newark with $84,882,136, and the Union Central of Cincinnati with $80,116,296. The Prudential, whose activities in the farm loan field do not cover as many years, held $67,146,570, and the Aetna, one of the first companies to begin investing its funds in farm mortgages, had $58,206,405. These are the five largest investors in farm mortgages among life insurance companies or among any other class of institutions in the United States.

The territory within which these companies make farm loans is carefully selected. Safety is demanded before every other consideration. Since the crop-producing qualities of land are the sustaining element of the farm loan, those sections where a one-crop system prevails are generally avoided. Only with the growth of diversified agriculture have the Southern States come to be included in the investment territory of the large companies. With the exception of Connecticut, the New England and Middle Atlantic States are practically excluded. Widespread investments through the great crop-producing states are naturally the safest for average results. For this reason, the investment territory of insurance companies is found principally in Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Texas. In other agricultural states only those sections are favored which are known to have stable land values and a thrifty rural population.

But selection is not exhausted when a general territory has been determined by a company. A state, a county, or even a township does not contain uniformly good land, and undesirable spots must be eliminated. The art of selection seems to be continuous in the business. In choosing an individual farm as security for a loan, companies exercise the greatest care. The most important considerations affecting their decision in the matter are the productiveness and marketability of the land. The productive quality of the soil is evidenced by the record of the crops harvested over a period of years. If the land is located on a good public road, near a good railroad market, and surrounded by well improved farms, it is not likely to be subject to depreciation in value. Other important considerations affecting the selection of individual tracts for investment purposes are the general topography of the land, the extent and character of farm buildings, and the moral hazard in-

volved. An accurate account of the borrower's financial condition is uniformly required.

Various methods are employed by the insurance companies in placing their farm mortgage investments. The smaller companies whose farm mortgage business is not sufficiently large to justify the maintenance of a separate farm loan department frequently buy their mortgages from well established concerns—state banks, savings banks, brokers, and investment companies—operating in the territory which has been selected. Or they may put at the disposal of their selected agents a constant fund to be loaned under certain conditions to well qualified applicants, reserving the right, however, to reject any loan within a given period of time if the representations of the agent have been found to be inaccurate. On the other hand it is the practice of the larger companies to deal directly with the farmer, either through a local representative who acts as the agent of the borrower or through a district agent having charge of the selection of loans within a certain state or territory.

An illustration of the latter method is afforded by the practice of the Union Central Life Insurance Company. This company operates in thirty-four states and has the unique distinction of having a greater proportion of its assets invested in mortgage loans on farm lands than any other company. "It has a complete organization of its own, which means that it does not buy mortgage paper from brokers or investment companies—but deals directly with the farmer in the original transaction. This branch is managed by the treasurer of the Company and consists of thirty-five financial correspondents with local agents, land examiners, abstracters of title, local attorneys—all operating in the field; together with a financial department at the Home Office equipped with a division to handle each phase of a loan—security, title, final settlements, collection of maturities either principal or interest, taxes and assessments, fire insurance, foreclosures, and real estate.

"The application for loan form contains an exhaustive statement in detail of the character and conditions of the security offered, together with an exhibit of assets and liabilities, income and outgo of applicant. It further contains a sworn appraisement of the security by two land owners and residents of the county, and a report of personal examination and recommendation of the

amount to be loaned, by the local agent. The financial correspondent makes a personal examination of the security and financial condition of the applicant himself or through his salaried land examiner, and in written report he bases his recommendation of amount to be loaned on statements in the application, verified by personal examination and by his office records of other examinations in that immediate locality. This is the field work done upon every application before it is submitted to the Company. The financial department of the Company assumes a position of absolute independence of the applicant, appraiser, local agent and financial correspondent, and proceeds to investigate the security and the applicant as it deems best. The records at the Home Office of the loans already made in the locality afford a reliable guide, as they are the result of actual examination and the report of subsequent changes in ownership indicating purchase price in sales. If abnormal, a special Home Office agent is sent out if the circumstances warrant such examination. When information from all sources is accumulated, it is abstracted and condensed in a single sheet for each loan and a copy is placed before each member of the Executive Committee—the investing authority of the Company—which finally decides the amount of loan justified by the security.

"During its history of forty-six years, the Company has made 75,102 loans to farmers, amounting to $133,838,549.44 secured by mortgages on 11,462,363 acres—an average loan of $1,782.00 to the borrower. * * * *

"It has been a basic principle not to hold real estate obtained under foreclosure for speculative rise in value, but rather to force the quick sale of it. The test of a mortgage investment is the experience with real estate obtained under foreclosure. During forty-six years the Company has acquired 871 pieces of real estate through foreclosure of mortgage, costing a total of $2,839,660.27. It has sold 859 pieces, and now has on hand 12 pieces located in five states and costing $46,331.19. * * * The total loss upon the investment of $133,838,549.44 during the contingencies of forty-six years has been $193,485.11."[26]

The records of such companies as the Union Central, the Northwestern Mutual, and the National Life of Montpelier—companies

26. Extract from an address delivered by Jesse R. Clark, President of the Union Central Life Insurance Company, at the ninth annual meeting of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents, New York City, December 5, 1912.

which have always been willing to inform the general public about the conduct of their business affairs—bear testimony to the abundant security of farm mortgage investments when properly safeguarded. The growing demand for this class of investments on the part of the old established life insurance companies is evidence that the status of the farm mortgage has changed materially during the last two decades. It is true that some of the companies have been induced to enter the field on account of the relatively higher interest rate which the farm mortgage offers, but for the most part they have proceeded with caution, extending their farm loan territory only when considerations of safety justified such action. One of the noteworthy events in farm loan circles during the year 1913 was the entrance of three New York companies—the Equitable, the Mutual, and the New York Life—into the farm mortgage investment field.

A second important source of land-mortgage credit is the bank. Until the passage of the Federal Reserve Act in 1913, national banks were forbidden by law to lend on the security of real estate. The reason for this limitation on lending power was unquestionably sound. Since the primary function of a commercial bank is to make profitable use of funds which would otherwise be temporarily unemployed, and at the same time to keep the bulk of its investment in liquid form so that it will always be able to meet the demands of its depositors, its loans should be continually maturing. If its assets are invested in short-term paper, having a maturity of thirty, sixty, and ninety days, they are liquid. On the other hand, if it has made long-term loans on the security of real estate, to that extent it will be less able to meet its demand obligations in time of stress. This principle was clearly recognized by the national banking law, but in spite of its good intentions, national banks experienced little difficulty in making mortgage loans indirectly through their directors whenever such loans became relatively profitable.

The Federal Reserve Act empowered any national bank not located in a central reserve city to make loans secured by improved farm land within its district up to 50 per cent of the actual value of the property offered as security, and for a period not exceeding five years. Such loans can be made to an aggregate sum equal to 25 per cent of the bank's capital and surplus, or to 33⅓ per cent of its time deposits. A statement given out by the Treasury

Department in June, 1914, indicated that the sum of $500,000,000 was at that time available for farm mortgage loans under the law. But it is not likely that national banks will lend this amount on mortgage security in competition with the older farm mortgage institutions. The rate of interest that can be obtained on short-term loans is generally higher, and, unless the rediscount privilege afforded by the federal reserve system causes a material reduction in the short-term rate, bankers will instinctively prefer the more liquid commercial loans. However, the new system enables a national bank to invest a larger proportion of its assets in long-term loans without running the risk of being seriously embarrassed.

State banks occupy a position of much greater prominence in financing the farmer's long-term credit needs than do national banks. Owing to the small amount of capital required for their organization, they can be more easily formed in the rural districts and are therefore greater in number. Although they are not prohibited by law from lending on the security of real estate, considerations of safety demand that in the performance of their commercial banking function they limit rigidly the proportion of their assets so invested. Individually the volume of their mortgage loans is small, but on account of the great number of these banks the aggregate of their loans is large. Not infrequently they act as financial agents for insurance companies, private lenders, and other investing classes, thereby making a large quantity of foreign capital available for local needs.

The function of trust companies and savings banks is unlike that of the commercial bank. The funds held in trust by these institutions may safely be invested in long-term loans. As yet the savings banks, outside of New England, are not heavy investors in farm mortgages, preferring urban to rural loans. What farm mortgages they hold have been acquired for the most part from country banks and mortgage companies. Trust companies, however, have shown a certain prominence in the farm mortgage field. In addition to investing their own funds in this class of security, they frequently maintain farm loan departments through which mortgages are made on carefully selected farms and sold to private investors. Sometimes, too, they hold in trust the mortgages deposited by investment companies as security for an issue of

bonds or certificates. In a few instances trust companies issue their own bonds on the security of their unsold mortgages.

According to the estimates prepared by the Department of Agriculture, the total volume of farm mortgages held by banks in the spring of 1914, when the data were gathered, was $739,500,000[27] —more than one-fifth of the estimated total mortgage indebtedness. Under "banks" are included state banks, trust companies, and savings banks, *i. e.*, banks operating under state law. In addition to the mortgages which these banks held, it is estimated by the Department, on the basis of the reports received from banks, that farm mortgages to the amount of $486,580,000[28] were negotiated by banks or bank officials acting as agents or correspondents for life insurance companies and other investors. Presumably, this amount represents the total outstanding mortgages which the banks had sold but which had not yet matured. Since a portion of this sum has already been accredited to the holdings of life insurance companies, it cannot be included in the aggregate as a definite addition to the total volume of bank loans.

In the distribution of mortgage loans by states there appears to be little correspondence, except in a few states, notably Indiana and Illinois, between the percentage of loans held by banks and the percentage held by life insurance companies. The high percentage of farm mortgages held by the banks in New Hampshire, Vermont, and Rhode Island, indicates that a great many mortgages of western origin are purchased by eastern institutions, especially savings banks. In other sections of the country the difference in the relative importance of banks and insurance companies as sources of land credit is not so striking, but some interesting contrasts can be found. In general, the relation between bank loans and insurance loans is supplementary. The percentage of bank loans seems to be relatively large where the percentage of insurance loans is small and *vice versa*.

This relation is probably due to the fact that insurance companies seek first the territory where the best security and a fair rate of interest can be obtained and, once their territory has been selected, are able on account of the extent of their funds to control most of the farm mortgage business within the district. On the

27. *Supra*, p. 21.
28. *Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Joint Committee on Rural Credits*, 64 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 15.

other hand, in those sections where the security of mortgage loans is deemed insufficient for the investment of insurance funds, interest rates are high and the farmer is dependent on local capital.

In view of the fact that life insurance companies and state banks hold approximately 40 per cent of the total farm mortgages outstanding, the question arises, What are the other sources of land credit?

In the first place there are the farm mortgage companies, large and small, scattered all over the United States, but operating chiefly in the Middle West. In Kansas, Missouri, and Nebraska alone there are over twenty-five companies each of which has outstanding mortgage loans varying in amount from $5,000,000 to $20,000,000. The Farm Mortgage Bankers' Association to which most of the large companies belong claims to have a membership whose outstanding loans in twenty-five states approximate a total of $500,000,000.[29] And there are hundreds of unincorporated farm loan agencies throughout the Middle West not included in the membership of this association.

The business of these companies is variously conducted. As a rule the large companies operate in several states. Each has a systematic organization of local agents and a carefully selected territory. On receipt of an application for a loan a salaried examiner is sent to investigate the reliability of the applicant and the character and value of his land. If the applicant, title, and security are approved, the loan is made from the company's capital and the mortgage is sold, usually without recourse, to a life insurance company, savings bank, or private investor. The company collects the interest when due, sees that the taxes are paid, and charges the borrower a commission for its services. In some cases it receives in addition a higher rate of interest than that paid to the ultimate investor.

Formerly, it was the practice of many of these companies to provide their funds by the issuance of debenture bonds bearing a lower rate of interest than the mortgages which secured them. But owing to reckless management and lack of proper legal restrictions they became involved in the real estate collapse of the early nineties and with a few exceptions the practice of issuing

29. Pamphlet entitled *Recommendations of the Farm Mortgage Bankers' Association of America through its Board of Governors*, Chicago, Feb. 15, 1916, p. 3.

debentures has been abandoned. The issuance of serial bonds or certificates, however, is quite common. When a company has made an individual loan of say $10,000, too large to be readily sold to one client, it may deposit the mortgage with a trustee as security for the issuance of certificates in convenient denominations of $100 and $500. These are generally guaranteed by the company and sold to individual investors.

There is another type of mortgage company which follows the "old-fashioned method" of conducting business. It receives applications from farmers or through its own correspondents and, after making an examination of the security offered, submits the application together with its own recommendation to a prospective investor. If the application is accepted, the loan is made in the name of the lender. The mortgage company merely supervises the loan and receives a commission for its services. In such cases, the farmer may be compelled to wait for his loan until a lender can be found.

A promising source of land credit is the building and loan association. These associations are formed primarily for the promotion of thrift among members. They have a variable capital which they lend to their members for the purpose of building or acquiring homes. Until recently, their activities were generally confined to lending on the security of urban property, but in some states the law has been amended to enable them to extend their operations to the rural districts. The building and loan associations of Ohio have, for several years, been lending on the security of farm lands with conspicuous success. In 1914, they had 8,897 farm loans outstanding, representing a total investment of $18,262,401.21.[30] In other states they have only begun to adapt their methods to the needs of farmers. Whether they will succeed in promoting home ownership among the agricultural classes as they have among urban workers is a doubtful matter. But owing to the ease with which they can be formed, and the small expense incident to their management, they ought to become an important source of farm credit.

Some states, moreover, lend their permanent school and educational funds directly to farmers at a low rate of interest. This policy has been followed for a number of years in Idaho, Indiana,

30. *Ohio Building and Loan Association Report*, 1914, p. xvi.

Iowa, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, and Utah with fairly successful results.[31] In South Dakota, for instance, loans to the amount of $6,216,405 were in force on September 30, 1912. In the twenty years during which the state had been making farm loans, only one foreclosure had been necessary. Inasmuch as the systems in vogue in other states have been equally well administered, there appears to be no serious objection to this form of state activity so long as its primary purpose is to provide a safe investment for a limited amount of idle funds. Recently, however, a number of states have been contemplating a radical extension of their loan systems so that they will be able to supply farmers with an unlimited quantity of capital at low interest rates.

A final source of land credit is the individual lender. Collectively, these individual investors hold more farm mortgages than any single class of institutions. Nearly every bank, trust company, and mortgage company engaged in the business of negotiating farm mortgages has among its regular clients a large number of individuals of small means who will buy farm mortgages in preference to railroad and public utility securities on account of the higher interest rate that the mortgage investment offers. Furthermore, it is a growing practice in the older agricultural communities, where the laws of the state do not inadvertently discriminate against the investment of local capital in farm mortgages, for one farmer to lend to another or for a private individual to lend directly to a farmer. In such cases the borrower and lender are brought into close contact with one another and the borrower may be relieved of many incidental expenses which would otherwise be paid to a middleman. But in a number of states this immediate contact between borrower and lender is impossible or, if possible, is unprofitable to the lender on account of prejudicial laws. For various reasons the lender usually prefers to buy his mortgages from well established banks and mortgage companies.

The rate of interest received on farm mortgage loans varies from about 5 to 10 per cent. With the exception of a few states which make a limited number of mortgage loans at 5 per cent, the lowest rates are probably received by life insurance companies. According

31. For fuller details in regard to the mortgage investments of these states see the report of W. M. Duffus to the Wisconsin State Board of Public Affairs on *State Loans to Farmers*, pp. 80-102.

to a report[32] submitted by Robert Lynn Cox at the ninth annual meeting of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents, the average rate of interest obtained in 1914 by 126 American life insurance companies on farm mortgage loans, representing 97 per cent of all farm mortgages held by American companies, was 5.5 per cent. The states in which more than $10,000,000 of insurance funds were invested and the average rate of interest reported in each were as follows: Iowa, 5.32 per cent; Nebraska, 5.34 per cent; Kansas, 5.46 per cent; Missouri, 5.35 per cent; Illinois, 5.16 per cent; Indiana, 5.31 per cent; Minnesota, 5.36 per cent; Texas, 6.99 per cent; Oklahoma, 5.91 per cent; South Dakota, 5.44 per cent; North Dakota, 5.88 per cent; Ohio, 5.30 per cent; and Georgia, 6.28 per cent. The states in which the highest average rates were obtained were Idaho and Utah. There the reported averages were 8.53 and 8.74 respectively. But these rates are not generally sought except by domestic companies. The most conservative life insurance companies are content to realize an interest rate of 5 or 5½ per cent on well secured mortgage loans. No loan is granted in excess of 50 per cent of the appraised value of a farm and, so far as possible, loans are limited to 40 per cent of the appraised land value.

The rates received by other classes of lenders scarcely admit of accurate generalization but, like the rates received by life insurance companies, are generally lower than the actual rate paid by the farmer. Various middlemen are required to bring the borrower and lender in touch with one another, and for their services they are paid a commission which must be included in any estimate of the farmer's rate. Manifestly this rate varies from section to section and, within a given community, from one farm to another. But over the country as a whole there are a few regions within which fairly accurate generalization is possible. Taking into account the middlemen's commission charge, the farmer's rate of interest is lowest in the New England and Middle Atlantic States, varying from 5 to 6 per cent. In that portion of the North Central division which lies between Pennsylvania and the 98th meridian, the rate varies from 6 to 7 per cent. Westward from this meridian the rate rises to 10 per cent in the arid and

32. See *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents*, 1915. The essentials of this report are reprinted in *Bulletin of the Farm Mortgage Bankers' Association of America*, Vol. II, Jan., 1916, p. 50.

Mountain States, falling to approximately 8 per cent on the Pacific Coast. To the south of Pennsylvania and the Ohio river, the rate gradually rises from 6 per cent in Maryland and 7 per cent in Kentucky to about 9 per cent in the Gulf States.

The table[33] on page 33 shows by states the average rates for interest and commissions together with the percentage of farm mortgage business on which a commission is paid.

The facts shown in the table below emphasize the necessity of considering the charge for commissions in making any estimate of the farmer's rate of interest. In general, the commission charge is highest in those states where farmers are dependent on foreign capital. The average annual commission of 1.8 per cent in Oklahoma and North Dakota may well be contrasted with the low commission rates obtaining in eastern states where the supply of local capital is more than sufficient to meet the requirements of the farmer. Moreover, the commission charge may be affected by the laws of a given state. It is commonly used as a means of evading the spirit of a usury law. In North Carolina, for instance, where the legal rate of interest is 6 per cent, the average annual commission charge is 1.4 per cent; whereas in South Carolina, where the legal rate of interest is 7 per cent with the right under contract to make it 8 per cent, the average yearly commission is only 0.6 per cent.

Within a given community, however, the actual rate of interest paid by farmers offering equal security is determined by competitive forces, and it makes little difference, so far as the total cost of borrowing is concerned, whether a loan is obtained from an insurance company, a bank, or a mortgage company. For, the amount of commission paid by the borrower varies inversely with the rate of interest received by the lender and consequently has an equalizing effect on the actual rates. In an investigation[34] conducted by the writer in Kansas in 1914, it was found that on five-year loans made by life insurance companies at 5½ per cent, the loan agents charged a commission of 5 per cent, making an addition of 1 per cent to the rate recorded in the mortgage instrument. On the other hand, when banks made a competitive farm loan for the

33. Arranged from data prepared by C. W. Thompson of the Department of Agriculture. *Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Joint Committee on Rural Credits*, 64 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 98-99.

34. See article entitled *Farm Credit in Kansas*, *American Economic Review*, Vol. V, March, 1915, p. 28.

Geographic division and State	Average interest rate	Average annual commission*	Interest plus commission	Percentage with commission		
				Total	With commission paid in advance	With commission paid in instalments
New England:						
Maine	6.1	0.1	6.2	8.9	5.0	3.9
New Hampshire	5.3	†	5.3	3.4	3.4	.....
Vermont	5.6	†	5.6	5.9	4.8	1.1
Massachusetts	5.6	†	5.6	2.8	2.7	.1
Rhode Island	5.7	.2	5.9	21.7	11.7	10.0
Connecticut	5.7	†	5.7	1.3	1.3	.....
Middle Atlantic:						
New York	5.5	.1	5.6	13.4	9.6	3.8
New Jersey	5.5	.3	5.8	27.7	18.7	9.0
Pennsylvania	5.5	.3	5.8	18.6	10.1	8.5
East North Central:						
Ohio	5.9	.2	6.1	26.3	17.9	8.4
Indiana	5.8	.4	6.2	45.5	36.2	9.3
Illinois	5.7	.3	6.0	47.3	39.1	8.2
Michigan	6.3	.3	6.6	23.2	18.0	5.2
Wisconsin	5.7	.1	5.8	14.9	10.4	4.5
West North Central:						
Minnesota	6.3	.5	6.8	47.7	20.0	27.7
Iowa	5.6	.3	5.9	64.0	51.3	12.7
Missouri	6.2	.6	6.8	54.9	28.0	26.9
North Dakota	6.9	1.8	8.7	79.8	17.0	62.8
South Dakota	7.0	1.0	8.0	68.2	45.5	22.7
Nebraska	6.3	.8	7.1	69.3	53.5	15.8
Kansas	6.1	.8	6.9	67.8	30.6	37.2
South Atlantic:						
Delaware	5.6	†	5.6	1.9	1.9	.....
Maryland	5.7	.4	6.1	35.7	28.5	7.2
Virginia	6.1	.7	6.8	34.1	26.2	7.9
West Virginia	6.2	0.2	6.4	11.1	8.8	2.3
North Carolina	6.3	1.4	7.7	40.9	27.5	13.4
South Carolina	7.8	.6	8.4	35.3	26.0	9.3
Georgia	7.6	1.1	8.7	66.1	54.1	12.0
Florida	9.0	.6	9.6	29.8	18.6	11.2
East South Central:						
Kentucky	6.7	.4	7.1	23.3	14.2	9.1
Tennessee	7.3	.6	7.9	35.4	23.9	11.5
Alabama	8.7	.7	9.4	37.2	25.2	12.0
Mississippi	8.0	.5	8.5	25.5	15.7	9.8
West South Central:						
Arkansas	9.0	.6	9.6	33.1	18.6	14.5
Louisiana	8.2	.4	8.6	23.2	16.3	6.9
Oklahoma	6.6	1.8	8.4	91.6	36.7	54.9
Texas	8.4	.6	9.0	43.0	27.1	15.9
Mountain:						
Montana	8.4	1.6	10.0	68.9	28.4	40.5
Idaho	8.2	.7	8.9	64.2	45.6	18.6
Wyoming	9.2	.8	10.0	40.1	28.1	12.0
Colorado	8.3	.6	8.9	58.3	47.0	11.3
New Mexico	9.7	.8	10.5	41.0	32.8	8.2
Arizona	9.1	.3	9.4	19.5	9.5	10.0
Utah	8.6	.4	9.0	33.0	18.3	14.7
Pacific:						
Washington	7.9	.8	8.7	58.2	46.4	11.8
Oregon	7.7	.3	8.0	31.6	23.6	8.0
California	7.4	.2	7.6	19.0	15.1	3.9

* Where the report shows a commission paid once for all in advance on a loan running more than one year, the equivalent annual commission is used.

† Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

same term of years, the lowest rate was usually 6 per cent, with an extra charge of 2 or 3 per cent for commission. In other words, the competitive farm mortgage rate was approximately 6½ per cent.

The commission charge is thus a variable factor and, whenever the lender's rate of interest is sufficiently low, can be exacted as a separate charge to make the borrower's rate correspond to the competitive rate. It is an exceptionally convenient device for making the farmer's rate of interest appear to be lower than it really is. Its subtle effect upon the actual rate is due partly to the method in which the commission is paid. In the majority of cases, the borrower pays the commission at the time the loan is made by having it deducted from the principal. For instance, a commission of 3 per cent deducted from a loan of $1,000, maturing in five years and bearing 6 per cent interest, leaves the borrower a net loan of $970. When he has paid interest charges of $60 per annum and repaid the principal, his actual rate has been 6.8 per cent. If the commission had been paid in equal yearly instalments, the borrower's actual rate would have been 6.6 per cent. On larger loans, the agent frequently takes a second mortgage for the amount of the commission.

The term of the loan has an important bearing on the cost of borrowing. Until about twenty-five years ago mortgage loans were not made for longer periods than five years, and could not be paid off in whole or in part until the date of maturity. Since that time, however, severe competition and renewed confidence in the farm mortgage have caused more liberal privileges to be granted to borrowers. Although the customary term of mortgage loans is now five years, life insurance companies make loans for terms of seven or ten years in some of the favored sections where first class security can be offered. Only with the smaller institutions such as state banks is a term of three years common.

As regards the repayment of loans, nearly every mortgage instrument provides for the voluntary repayment of a certain percentage of the principal annually, or some multiple of $100 on any interest-paying date. These privileges enable many borrowers to repay their loans in full before maturity, but for the great majority of borrowers the term of loans is far too short and renewal at maturity is a common practice. This necessitates the payment of

renewal commissions and other incidental fees all of which figure in the borrower's actual rate. Furthermore, if a loan matures during a period of financial stringency, the borrower may be obliged to pay a higher rate of interest on the renewed loan. Only a few companies have found it possible to extend the term of loans beyond the customary five years and provide for the repayment of the principal by amortization.

Finally, the borrower must pay the recording fee and the expenses that arise in connection with the perfection of his land title. Sometimes, too, he pays the notary's fee, the inspector's charges, and a fee for having the mortgage released. These are not insignificant items. The cost of establishing a title prior to the granting of a loan may be especially burdensome to the small borrower. The title must be carefully searched every time the property is sold or mortgaged. Even the findings of a reliable abstract company are subject to review if the farmer attempts to convert his loan by borrowing from a new source. Only in those states where the Torrens system has been successfully adopted is it possible for a farmer to escape this recurrent charge.

From the foregoing account it is evident that the present system of land credit is defective. The specific defects may be summarized as follows: first, the customary term of farm loans is far too short a period for the repayment of a loan out of the product of land; second, the method of repayment is haphazard; third, the possibility and conditions of renewal are uncertain; and fourth, the expenses in the way of interest charges, commissions, etc., are much higher than farm mortgage security under a specialized and mobile system of land credit would warrant.

One reason for the existence of high rates can be found in the legislation of the states themselves. In many of the states the investment of local capital in farm mortgages is adversely affected by the general property tax law which subjects real and personal property to the same kind of taxation. To the local investor the tax is extremely annoying. It scales down an interest rate of 6 per cent on a mortage loan to an actual rate of 4 or 5 per cent. Rather than suffer this loss of income the individual lender is

wont to invest his capital in foreign enterprises and withhold from the tax assessor a full declaration. Thus an enormous volume of local capital annually seeks investment beyond the boundaries of those states in which mortgages and real property are taxed at the same rate. The withdrawal of these loanable funds compels the farmer to pay commission charges on foreign capital, *i. e.*, a higher rate of interest than would be necessary under more lenient laws.

That the burden of a heavy mortgage tax is borne partly by the borrower in the form of a higher commission may be inferred from the findings of the Department of Agriculture.[35] In California, Arizona, and Utah where mortgages are exempt from taxation, in Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Wisconsin where they are treated as interest in the land, or in New York and Michigan where they are subject to mortgage registration taxes, the commission charge is relatively low because it is possible for borrowers and individual lenders to have direct dealings with one another. Some exceptions will be found to this principle here and there on account of the existence of other factors. In some states where mortgages are subject to the regular property tax rate, the commission charge is low because the law in regard to the taxation of personalty is laxly administered. In others, notably Oklahoma and Montana, the commission charge is exceedingly high—notwithstanding the fact that mortgages in these states are subject only to recording taxes—because of the small quantity of local capital available for investment.

Another phase of state legislation which affects the rate of interest on long-term loans is the privilege accorded in most states to the mortgagor who has defaulted on interest payments of regaining title to his land by redeeming his obligations within a given period after foreclosure sale. A common period allowed for redemption is eighteen months. Until the expiration of this redemption period, the mortgagor may reside upon the land and derive all the income it yields without being subject to the ordinary fixed expenses. The conditional owner, moreover, is exposed to a possible loss not only on account of taxes and interest but also on account of the wilful negligence of the occupier in caring for the property. Under these conditions, it is little wonder that conservative lenders must limit their loans to 40 and 50 per cent of the

35. *Supra*, p. 33.

appraised value of the property to be mortgaged. Invariably the long-term redemption privilege detracts from the security of a mortgage loan. A shorter period allowed for redemption would virtually lower the borrower's rate of interest by enabling him to secure larger loans on his property with less risk to the lender.

After making due allowance for the effect which obnoxious state laws have upon the farmer's rate of interest, it does not appear that the farmer's net rate—the rate received by the lender—is inordinately high compared with the rates paid by other small business men. It is the commission charge and other incidental expenses rather than the lender's rate that seems in most cases to be excessive. There is, however, one class of borrowers, *i. e.*, those of small means who aspire to land ownership, to whom the lender's rate *is* excessive. At present the value of land is high, out of all proportion in fact to the capitalization of its rent at the current rate of interest. In order to become an independent landowner, the tenant must first be able to pay one-half the purchase price; in addition, he must borrow the remainder at an interest rate of possibly 6 per cent and be subject to other charges which may increase the actual rate to 7 per cent. In view of the small return from land at the present scale of values, these requirements offer little encouragement to the young man to become a landowner. The margin of security demanded is too large and the rate of interest is unprofitably high. Until special provision has been made for this class of borrowers, the land credit system will continue to be defective.

A final and fundamental defect in the existing system of agricultural finance is to be found in the character of the institutions on which the farmer is dependent. The state and national banks particularly are ill-adapted to his needs. These institutions were established to meet the needs of the commercial and industrial classes at a time when land was free, when loans for agricultural purposes were secondary in importance. In the performance of the commercial function for which they were designed, they are unable to extend to the farmer on the most advantageous terms the kind of credit he requires. It is largely because the farmer has been dependent on commercial banking institutions that the specific defects, already indicated, have arisen.

Nor are the life insurance companies wholly satisfactory as

sources of land credit. Although they have accomplished more than any other single class of institutions in meeting the growing demand for better land credit machinery, they operate at a great distance from the borrower and the cost of placing their loans may completely offset the advantages that would otherwise be derived from the low rate of interest they are content to receive. They naturally prefer the large loans and follow a practice similar to that established by banks in fixing the term of loans and the method of repayment. For various reasons it is impossible for them to observe the standards to which an ideal land credit institution should conform.

The farm mortgage companies—the only real specialists in the business of negotiating land-mortgage loans—are open to similar criticism. Their primary function is to bring borrowers and lenders together for mutual benefit. In the performance of this function they have succeeded, like the life insurance companies, in directing a large flow of capital to agricultural channels. But their methods have not kept pace with the needs of agricultural progress, nor have they succeeded in accomodating the large number of small investors whose savings are insufficient to warrant the purchase of individual mortgages. Until new machinery has been devised that will enable the farm mortgage companies to reach this class of investors, capital for agricultural development will be ineffectively mobilized.

CHAPTER III

The Rural Credit Movement

There is nothing new in the general complaint that the farmer's rate of interest is high. On the frontier, high rates have always caused a certain amount of complaint, especially during periods of falling prices. It is only recently, however, that the fundamental defects in the rural credit system have received recognition. Much credit for the general awakening should be given to the National Monetary Commission, created in 1907, which brought to light certain stimulating facts in regard to the European systems of farm credit. Moreover, the Country Life Commission, created in the following year, found that among the causes contributing to the deficiencies of country life was the "lack of any adequate system of agricultural credit, whereby the farmer may readily secure loans on fair terms",[36] and suggested that "a method of coöperative credit would undoubtedly prove of great service".[37] This view was favorably received by those who saw in the rural problem an economic cause—who believed that the conditions of country life could be made more attractive only by the adoption of a program that would promote the prosperity of the agricultural worker.

Public interest in the possibilities of coöperative credit was immediately aroused. At the annual meetings of the various bankers' associations, the European systems of agricultural credit afforded a recurrent topic for discussion. In furthering this interest, the American Bankers' Association played a prominent role. At its annual meeting, held in New Orleans, November 24, 1911, a Committee on Agricultural and Financial Development and Education was created to undertake a study of agricultural credit at home and abroad. The action of this association was quickly followed by minor organizations until the interest in the movement became nation-wide.

36. Sen. Doc. 705, 60 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 15.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

At length President Taft, in March, 1912, directed Secretary Knox to instruct the American ambassadors to Germany, France, and Italy, and the American ministers to Belgium and the Netherlands to investigate the agricultural credit systems in operation in their respective countries. On the basis of the data gathered by these investigations, Myron T. Herrick, American Ambassador to France, was instructed to prepare a general report which would "place the Department in possession of all data necessary to the President for the formulation of some practical scheme which may be worked out to bring the desired benefits to agricultural communities in the United States".[38]

This report, known as the *Preliminary Report on Land and Agricultural Credit in Europe*, was published October 11, 1912, and copies were sent to the governors of all the states with a personal letter from President Taft. In the course of the letter the President said: "The interest rate paid by the American farmer is considerably higher than that paid by our industrial corporations, railroads or municipalities. Yet, I think, it will be admitted that the security offered by the farmer in his farm lands is quite as sound as that offered by industrial corporations. Why, then, will not the investor furnish the farmer with money at as advantageous rates as he is willing to supply it to the industrial corporations? Obviously, the advantage enjoyed by the industrial corporation lies in the financial machinery at its command, which permits it to place its offer before the investor in a more attractive and more readily negotiable form. The farmer lacks this machinery and, lacking it, he suffers unreasonably".[39]

In the meantime, Mr. David Lubin of the International Institute of Agriculture, who had been gathering data for a number of years on the European rural credit systems, brought the matter to the attention of Senator Fletcher, president of the Southern Commercial Congress. Mr. Lubin attended the annual convention of this organization in Nashville in the spring of 1912, presented his data on European systems of agricultural credit, and a resolution was promptly adopted calling upon the Southern Commercial Congress to assemble a commission composed of two representatives from each state for the purpose of studying at first hand and

38. Herrick and Ingalls: *How to Finance the Farmer*, p. 2.
39. Sen. Doc. 967, 62 Cong., 3 Sess., p. 4.

of popularizing the methods employed by the coöperative credit and coöperative marketing organizations of Europe.

The movement soon took on a political aspect. The three political parties, assembled in national convention in 1912, adopted planks favoring the improvement of agricultural credit facilities. With a view to paving a way for remedial legislation, the Republican and Democratic platforms recommended authoritative investigations of the European credit associations. On March 4, 1913, President Taft approved the Agricultural Appropriation bill which carried an amendment providing for the appointment of a United States Commission of seven members "to investigate and study in European countries coöperative land-mortgage banks, coöperative rural credit unions, and similar organizations and institutions devoting their attention to the promotion of agriculture and the betterment of rural conditions".[40] This commission was instructed to work in conjunction with the American Commission which was being assembled by the Southern Commercial Congress. President Wilson, on his accession to office, promptly appointed Senator Duncan U. Fletcher, Senator Thomas P. Gore, Congressman Ralph W. Moss, Col. Harvie Jordan, Dr. John Lee Coulter, Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, and Dr. Clarence J. Owens as members of the United States Commission. Senator Fletcher was made chairman of both commissions.

The American Commission—consisting of seventy members, and representing twenty-nine states, the District of Columbia, and four Canadian provinces—and the United States Commission sailed for Europe April 26, 1913. The commissions as a body or through subcommittees visited Italy, Egypt, Hungary, Austria, Russia, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, France, Spain, England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. In gathering material for their reports they visited banks, coöperative institutions and farms, and held conferences with government officials, heads of agricultural organizations, and individuals.

The agricultural data thus obtained were published in a report known as *Information and Evidence*.[41] Each commission, however, made a separate report. Of these the report of the United States Commission on *Land-Mortgage or Long-Term Credit*[42] is the most

40. Sen. Doc. 380, 63 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 3.
41. Sen. Doc. 214, 63 Cong., 1 Sess.
42. Sen. Doc. 380, 63 Cong., 2 Sess.

noteworthy on account of its bearing on the course of subsequent events. That report was confined to a consideration of rural credit. The general conclusions recorded by the commission were that the same institution could not properly supply the farmer's long-term and short-term credit requirements, that reform in the long-term facilities should come first, and that with the establishment of suitable machinery under strict federal supervision private initiative could be depended upon to reduce the farmer's rate of interest and improve the methods of making loans.[43] Although the commission recognized the "value of coöperative effort and the wisdom of permitting coöperative institutions to be organized", it found that the landschaft form was unsuited to the conditions and requirements of American agriculture.[44] Furthermore, it recorded its firm conviction "that not only was government aid unnecessary, but that it would be unwise".[45]

The Moss-Fletcher bill,[46] one of the early[47] rural credit bills to be introduced, embodied the specific recommendations of the commission. It provided for the voluntary organization of decentralized farm land banks, either as coöperative or non-coöperative institutions, under a federal charter, with a capital stock of at least $10,000. The organization and management of the banks were to be supervised by a Commissioner of Farm Land Banks in charge of a bureau in the Department of the Treasury. They were empowered to receive deposits, to make long-term loans, repayable by amortization, up to 50 per cent of the value of improved farm land, and to issue and sell their debenture bonds. The amount of bonds so issued by any one bank could at no time exceed fifteen times its capital and surplus, nor could the farmer's rate of interest exceed by more than one per cent the rate paid on the last series of bonds. Each bank was empowered to make loans only in the state where it was located.

To give the bonds an investment standing, provision was made for the appointment of a federal fiduciary agent for each bank who was to have control of the mortgages deposited as security for

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43. *Ibid.*, pp. 12 and 21.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
46. S. 4246, introduced January 29, 1914.
47. Another bill (S. 2909) previously introduced by Senator Fletcher provided for the formation of a central bank at Washington with power to issue bonds on the security of mortgages turned over to it and guaranteed by central state banks. At the time, this bill was supposed to embody the opinions of the United States Commission but it was subsequently withdrawn in favor of the Moss-Fletcher bill.

bonds and whose duty it was to certify that each bond issue was properly secured by first mortgages of equal value. The bonds were made available as security for the deposit of postal savings funds in all banks authorized to receive such deposits, and as security for loans from national banks to farm land banks and individuals. Furthermore, they were made legal investments for trust funds and estates under the charge of a United States court, and for time deposits of national banks and of savings banks organized in the District of Columbia. Finally, the land banks and their debenture bonds were to be exempt from all federal, state, and local taxation except taxes on real estate.

Numerous other land credit bills were introduced during this session of Congress. Of these the Bathrick bill,[48] introduced at about the same time as the Moss-Fletcher bill, is worthy of note. It provided for the issuance of government bonds bearing an interest rate of 3½ per cent or less. The funds obtained from the sale of bonds were to be loaned to farmers up to 60 per cent of the value of their lands at an interest rate of not more than 4½ per cent. No individual loan could exceed $15,000. Provision was made for lending to farmers through farm credit associations on condition that such associations become surety for the mortgages they accepted. The administration of the system was to be under the control of a bureau in the Department of Agriculture.

The Senate and House Committees on Banking and Currency created subcommittees on rural credits which held joint meetings from February 16 to July 23, 1914. In the course of the hearings before the subcommittees, the Moss-Fletcher bill was severely criticized. On the whole it was generally regarded with suspicion. The charge was persistently made that it placed too much reliance on private initiative, that it was a banker's rather than a farmer's measure, that it would not only lead to unnecessary centralization in banking power but would also fail to afford the needed relief to the debtor farmer. Moreover, in the course of the extensive hearings it was found that the framers of the bill were not wholly agreed as to the wisdom of its provisions; and that the Bathrick bill, which provided for direct government loans at a low rate of interest, had the stronger support of the farmers' organizations.

Accordingly, no favorable action was reported on either bill.

48. H. R. 11,897, 63 Cong., 2 Sess.

Instead, the Hollis-Bulkley bill[49] was drafted and introduced by the chairmen of the subcommittees. This bill formed the basis of the present law. It provided for the appointment of a Farm Loan Commissioner by the newly created Federal Reserve Board to supervise the organization and management of national farm loan associations. These associations could be formed under a federal charter with a capital stock of not less than $10,000, to be subscribed, if the board of directors so authorized, after the manner followed by building and loan associations. When fully organized, they could make long-term loans to farmers up to 50 per cent of the value of their land and 25 per cent of the value of farm buildings at a rate of interest not exceeding the legal rate current in the state where the association was located. Borrowers were required to subscribe for stock in an association up to 5 per cent of the amount of their loans and to reside upon the land offered as security. No association could lend to a single individual more than $4,000, nor a larger sum than 25 per cent of its capital and surplus.

The bill authorized the Federal Reserve Board to divide the country into twelve districts, the boundaries of which corresponded so far as possible with state boundary lines, and to establish in each district a federal land bank having a capital stock of $500,000. National farm loan associations were required to subscribe at least 10 per cent of their capital to the capital of the land bank located in their district. If their subscriptions were insufficient to provide the land banks with their minimum capital requirements, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to subscribe for the balance.

Federal land banks were to have power to purchase first farm mortgages from the national farm loan associations within their respective districts and, under certain conditions, from institutions organized under state laws. On the security of these mortgages they could issue bonds, bearing an interest rate of 5 per cent or less, to an amount equal to twenty times their capital and surplus. The bonds were to be exempt from all taxation and were made legal investments for the funds withdrawn from postal savings depositaries if the bonds could be purchased at par or below. Finally, upon the recommendation of the Federal Reserve Board,

49. H. R. 16,478, 63 Cong., 2 Sess.

the Secretary of the Treasury might be required to purchase land bank bonds to an amount not exceeding $50,000,000 in any one year. No less administrative authority was given to the Federal Reserve Board than that conferred by the Federal Reserve Act of 1913.

Manifestly, the Hollis-Bulkley bill was a drastic attempt to meet the objections that had been urged against the Moss-Fletcher bill. It was far from being a banker's bill as it carefully removed all possibility of private gain; and the federal assistance for which it provided should have satisfied those who favored a program of government loans. But its paternalistic guise failed to win the enthusiastic support of the administration and, as Congress was busily engaged on other pressing matters, all attempts to enact a rural credit law were temporarily abandoned.

At length when the Agricultural Appropriation bill came up for consideration in the House, Representative Bulkley, in a last desperate effort to save the Hollis-Bulkley bill, proposed it as an amendment. In this attempt he was partly successful as the amendment passed the House March 1, 1915. Meanwhile, the McCumber amendment,[50] also proposed as a rider on the Agricultural Appropriation bill, had passed the Senate February 25, 1915. This measure provided for the establishment of a bureau in the Treasury Department with power to issue bonds and to purchase farm mortgages from state and national banks so long as its bonds could be disposed of at par. No objection was made to this amendment by the supporters of the Hollis-Bulkley bill because they expected the latter to be adopted in conference.[51] But owing to a lack of time for proper consideration, the two riders were stricken out and replaced by a clause authorizing the formation of a joint committee of twelve members of the Senate and House to prepare and report to Congress a bill or bills providing for the establishment of a system of rural credits adapted to American needs and conditions. This action was approved March 4, 1915, and the joint committee was immediately organized.

On January 3, 1916, the Joint Committee on Rural Credits submitted the report[52] of its subcommittee on land-mortgage loans

50. Subsequently introduced as S. 831, 64 Cong., 1 Sess.
51. See *Congressional Record*, Vol. 52, pp. 5195-5196.
52. Printed as House Doc. 494, 64 Cong., 1 Sess.

together with the draft of a proposed bill[53] which differed but slightly from the Hollis-Bulkley bill. It was introduced two days later by Senator Hollis, was favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency with amendments February 15, and passed the Senate with scarcely any opposition May 4. The same bill somewhat changed passed the House May 15 and was approved by the President July 17.[54]

In the meantime, while Congress was attempting to work out a practical program for rural credit reform, the state legislatures had been attacking the problem with characteristic initiative.[55] In 1913, the Wisconsin legislature passed a law on land-mortgage associations. Similar laws were passed in Massachusetts and Utah in 1915. In 1914, the New York legislature provided for the organization of the Land Bank of the State of New York, a central institution, to be owned and controlled by local savings and loan associations. In the following year, Missouri, Montana, and Oklahoma, abandoning all hope of solving the rural credit problem through private initiative, adopted modified programs of state loans.

These measures are not altogether dissimilar. Although there is considerable difference in the proposed machinery for administration and supervision, all contain plans looking toward a longer term of loans, repayable by amortization, and the issuance of bonds on the collective security of farm mortgages. The chief differences are to be found in the effect which these measures are expected to have upon the farmer's rate of interest. From this

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53. S. 2986, known as the Hollis bill, or the Federal Farm Loan bill.

54. The detailed provisions of the Federal Farm Loan Act together with a criticism of the measure may be found *infra*, Chapter VI.

55. The history of state rural credit measures may be sketched briefly as follows: Massachusetts passed a law on credit unions in 1909; Texas on rural credit unions in 1913; Wisconsin on coöperative credit associations in 1913; and New York on credit unions in 1914. In 1913 a law was passed in Wisconsin providing for the incorporation and regulation of land-mortgage associations. The associations were authorized to make long-term loans to farmers on first mortgage security and to issue and sell mortgage bonds. In the following year the New York legislature provided for the organization of the land bank, a central institution with the power to issue bonds on the security of farm mortgages turned over to it by local savings and loan associations.

In 1915 laws providing for the organization of credit unions or coöperative banks were passed in Massachusetts, North Carolina, Oregon, and Utah. Massachusetts and Utah, following the example set by Wisconsin, enacted special laws for the organization of farm land banks. Similar measures were defeated in California, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, and Nebraska. In Kansas and North Carolina the laws on building and loan associations were amended to enable those institutions to make long-term loans on agricultural lands. The California legislature authorized the governor to appoint a commission to investigate rural credit schemes at home and abroad.

In some states there has been a disposition to regard the land credit problem of such serious nature as to warrant the adoption of a policy of state aid. For a number of years Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South

point of view the laws are of two fairly distinct types. One type seeks merely to reduce a portion of the waste in the present land credit system by improving the method of making loans and by giving greater mobility to funds seeking mortgage investment. The other contemplates, in addition, a material reduction in the farmer's rate of interest either through the organization of a strong central bank or through a program of minimum state aid.

The Wisconsin law[56] is a typical example of the former type of legislation. It provides for the voluntary formation of land-mortgage associations having a capital stock of not less than $10,000. These institutions can make long-term loans—repayable in annual instalments of 1 per cent of the original loan—on the security of agricultural lands, forest lands, or lands occupied by dwelling houses within the state. Loans are limited to 65 per cent of the value of such real estate if improved, and to 40 per cent if unimproved. No association can lend to a single individual a larger sum than 15 per cent of its capital and surplus. On the security of the mortgages so taken and deposited with the state treasurer, each association may issue bonds, equal in amount to the total unpaid principal of loans outstanding, up to twenty times its capital and surplus. The rate of interest paid by the borrower is limited to the rate agreed upon plus an annual charge for expenses which can not exceed 1 per cent of the face of the loan. The bonds are made legal investments for trust funds and are exempt from taxation whenever the taxes upon the mortgaged real estate are payable either by the mortgagor or the mortgagee.

The laws of Missouri, Montana, New York, and Oklahoma are

Dakota, and Utah have been investing certain permanent school funds in farm mortgages. In 1913 Wisconsin adopted a similar policy, authorizing that the state's school fund be loaned to farmers for the purpose of making permanent farm improvements. Another law of the same year provided for the issuance of bonds by counties to enable farmers to clear their lands for agricultural purposes. So far nothing has been accomplished by either law (*Wisconsin Bulletin* 247, Jan. 1915, p. 31). In the early part of 1915 the legislature of Wyoming authorized the state treasurer to invest, subject to certain conditions, the funds arising from the sale of state lands in irrigation bonds. A bill providing for the investment of the state's permanent funds in farm mortgages at not less than 6 nor more than 7 per cent failed to pass. The North Dakota legislature proposed an amendment to the state constitution which, if adopted, will enable the state to establish a loan fund and pledge its credit either to individual farmers or to rural credit associations. In Montana, authority has been given to the state treasurer to issue bonds and make long-term loans to farmers on the security of first mortgages whenever the demand for bonds is equal to the demand for farm loans. Applications and subscriptions are to be received by the county treasurers. To insure prompt payment of interest on the bonds a guarantee fund has been provided by the state. Finally, Missouri and Oklahoma have provided for the appropriation of certain state funds to be used as initial working capital for a system of long-term loans. Additional funds will be obtained through the sale of bonds secured by first mortgages or deeds of trust.

56. *The Banking Laws of Wisconsin*, Revision of 1913, pp. 55-66.

examples of the second type of legislation. If they succeed in accomplishing the definite purpose for which they were enacted, the farmer's rate of interest on long-term loans will be about 6 per cent in Montana and Oklahoma, and 5 per cent or less in Missouri and New York. These rates are well below the rate that is current in the respective states.

The Missouri law[57] is the most drastic of these measures. Briefly, it provides for the establishment of a Missouri land bank, annexed to the office of the state bank commissioner, under the direction and supervision of a board of governors composed of the governor of the state, the attorney general, the secretary of state, the state treasurer, and the state auditor. Loans varying from $250 to $10,000 are to be made to farmers up to 50 per cent of the value of their lands for terms of not less than five nor more than twenty-five years. An amortization scheme, borrowed with some inaccuracies from the Crédit Foncier, provides for the repayment of the principal within the term of the loan in fixed annual payments consisting of interest, one-half per cent on account of the reserve, and the remainder on account of principal. The law expressly stipulates that loans are to be made only for the ordinary productive purposes, *i. e.*, to complete the purchase price of land, to pay off existing incumbrances, and to make permanent improvements. Of the total amount loaned, 25 per cent may be used for the purchase of stock and machinery.

The initial working capital of the bank, $1,000,000, is to be appropriated by the legislature from the funds in the state treasury. One-half of this amount will be loaned to applicants at a net interest rate of 4.3 per cent. Thereafter, capital will be provided through the sale of debenture bonds, issued in series of $500,000, and loaned to farmers at the rate which the bank must pay on the bonds. Whenever there are deeds of trust on hand aggregating $500,000, a new series of bonds will be issued until the total issue has reached $40,000,000. Further issues may be made indefinitely at a ratio of $30 of bonds to $1 of the reserve.

An effort is made to give the bonds a high standing as invest-

57. *Laws of Missouri*, 1915, H. B. 877, p. 196. The law can not become operative until December 1, 1916. There was some doubt at the time the measure was proposed as to whether it would be constitutional for the legislature to appropriate $1,000,000 from the state treasury for the purpose of organizing the bank. To avoid all possible constitutional difficulties it was deemed best to postpone the organization of the bank until the law could be submitted to the voters of the state under the "initiative".

ment securities. Every series of bonds will be secured by a like amount of deeds of trust on farm lands within the state appraised at double the face value of the bonds. For the purpose of insuring careful appraisement, the state is to be divided into districts and an expert appraiser appointed for each district at a salary of $2,000. The appraiser is to have the coöperation of local banks in securing information relative to the applicant for a loan, and the services of state and county officials in passing upon title abstracts. These services are to be rendered without fee. Furthermore, the bonds will have as security the bank's reserve fund. The board, however, has the discretionary power to refund to each borrower who has made regular payments for at least ten years, the reserve of one-half per cent collected on his payments, or that portion of it which remains after charging it with its share of expenses and loss. When the reserve fund has accumulated to an amount sufficiently large that it will no longer be needed to insure the solvency of the bank, the legislature is to provide for its repayment to the state. Finally, the bonds are exempt from taxation; and in all cases where the law requires a deposit of securities to be made with the superintendent of insurance or the state treasurer, the bonds are to be available for that purpose "as if they were the bonds of the state of Missouri".

The Montana law[58] provides that the state treasurer may issue 5 per cent bonds, secured by farm mortgages, whenever the county treasurers have received sufficient applications for loans and subscriptions to bonds to warrant a series of $100,000. Smaller bond issues may be made from time to time at a rate of interest agreed upon by all the applicants for loans. Loans will be amortized by semi-annual payments equal to 4 per cent of the face value of the mortgages. One-eighth of each payment or less, in the discretion of the state treasurer, will be used to pay the expenses of administration. The inference is that the farmer's rate of interest will be 6 per cent or less when bonds are issued in series of $100,000.

The law authorizes the appropriation of $20,000 from the state treasury to be used as a guaranty fund. In the event of default by a mortgagor, the state treasurer will draw upon this fund to satisfy the holders of bonds, but the amount thus drawn must be restored to the fund either from the proceeds of foreclosure sale or by a

58. *Laws of Montana*, 1915, ch. 28.

direct levy on all mortgagors benefiting under the same bond issue. The effect of this guaranty on the investment character of the bonds seems to be of doubtful value when one reflects that the mortgages rather than the bonds are to be exempt from taxation.

The proposed Land Bank of the State of New York is an adaptation of the Central Landschaft of Prussia. The law[59] provides that the bank may be formed by ten or more savings and loan associations with aggregate resources of $5,000,000 when they have subscribed $100,000 to its capital. On the security of first mortgages made by the local associations and placed in trust with the state comptroller, the land bank may issue bonds, exempt from taxation, up to 80 per cent of the face value of the mortgages so long as its total outstanding indebtedness does not exceed twenty times its capital. A portion of the profits of the bank equal to one-half per cent of the capital must be set aside each year as a guaranty fund until the fund is equal to 15 per cent of its capital.

The savings and loan associations were adopted as the local organizations in the new system because of the excellent law under which they have operated. At present they are among the soundest financial institutions in the state. They can make loans only to members. The property pledged as security for a loan must be located within a radius of fifty miles of the office of the association and loans must be limited to 75 per cent of the appraised property value. Nothing in the law has prevented these associations from lending to farmers but, since they have been dependent on local savings for their capital, their operations have been confined to urban communities.

The new law attempts to overcome these limitations. A savings and loan association having invested in the shares of the land bank, and having no debts or second mortgages, may pledge 75 per cent of its mortgages or other securities for cash or bonds of the central institution. With the funds thus obtained—which can not be in excess of twenty times the share capital it has contributed to the land bank—the local association can make farm loans to members on the amortization plan for terms of forty years. The rate of interest to be paid by the farmer will be the rate paid on the bonds plus a small charge to cover expenses.

The land bank is now fully organized. Over forty associations

59. *Laws of New York*, ch. 369, art. X.

with total assets of approximately $20,000,000 have met the organization requirements. The first bond issue of $250,000, maturing in ten years and bearing an interest rate of 4½ per cent, has also been authorized. A successful effort is being made to sell the first issue of bonds to the large financial institutions. The funds thus derived from the sale of the bonds will be loaned by the land bank to member associations at 5 per cent. Owing to the coöperative structure of these associations the cost of placing the loans will be comparatively small and the farmer's rate of interest is expected to be well below that rate once the system has become firmly established. At present, the one concern of the organizers is to arouse the interest of farmers in the new system so that they will be induced to become members of the local associations.[60]

The Oklahoma law[61] is the outgrowth of the state's experience in making loans to farmers. Since 1907 that state has been lending its permanent school funds on the security of farm mortgages. Loans limited to one-half the value of land, exclusive of the value of improvements, have been made by the commissioners of the land office for terms of five years at an interest rate of 5 per cent. On the whole the system was well administered, but the number of loans was naturally limited. With a view to supplying the demand for state loans, the new law created another loan fund out of the lands set apart for the benefit of the higher institutions of learning. Loans are to be made for terms of twenty-three and one-half years, with provision for amortization, at an interest rate of 6 per cent. The maximum loan that can be obtained by any one individual or family is $2,000 and then only on condition that the borrower reside upon the land given as security.

In order to provide sufficient funds for all applicants the commissioners of the land office are authorized to sell without recourse the mortgages taken in part payment for the University lands, or to issue bonds, bearing an interest rate of 5 per cent or less, up to 75 per cent of the value of the mortgages. With these funds additional loans can be made and the commissioners are empowered to issue 5 per cent bonds up to 90 per cent of the value of the mortgages taken for such loans. When the University lands are finally sold, an almost inexhaustible fund will be available for farm

60. See *Journal of the American Bankers' Association*, Jan., 1916, p. 576.
61. *Laws of Oklahoma*, 1915, chs. 34, 284.

loans—provided the state has no difficulty in floating the bonds. Although not guaranteed by the state, the bonds will bear the signatures of the governor, the president of the state board of agriculture, and the state auditor. They will be exempt from all taxation except the tax on incomes and will be approved security for the deposit of public funds and legal investments for trust funds. As yet, no bonds have been issued by the commissioners.

Numerous other land credit measures have been seriously considered by Congress and the state legislatures, but the measures already outlined furnish sufficient and conclusive evidence that the land credit problem is being boldly, if not blindly, attacked. With no American precedent to follow and no consensus of opinion as to the kind of land credit machinery best adapted to American conditions, a great deal of irregular legislation has been evolved. Even the members of the commissions who have studied at first hand the various systems in operation in foreign countries seem to have gained little from their investigations except a dignified enthusiasm for reform.

In general, three distinct kinds of legislation have been passed or proposed. On the one hand are the less conservative reformers who would rely upon a scheme of government aid. They would have the state or federal governments engage directly in the business of making long-term loans to farmers at a low rate of interest. In no other way, they claim, can a young farmer secure a rate of interest sufficiently low to make the ownership of a farm a practical certainty. On the other hand, those who are opposed to a government subsidy of any kind, particularly one for the benefit of farmers, insist that there is need only for legislation that will provide new machinery for the mobilization of farm credit at the hands of private initiative. Finally, there are those who, in advocating coöperative organization as a remedy for all economic ills, would transplant with little modification the German landschafts to this country.

The dissimilarity of these three proposals is probably due to an incomplete understanding of the land credit problem. The problem is clearly of a two-fold nature. It involves a consideration

not only of the credit needs of landowners, but also of the credit needs of tenants who would become landowners. There is a fundamental difference between the requirements of these two classes. The former require long-term credit for the purpose of equipping the farm; the latter need long-term credit in order to complete the purchase price of land. Those who advocate a program of government loans at a low rate of interest have in mind the promotion of home ownership and the welfare of the tenant classes; while those who would rely upon private initiative or coöperative efforts to reduce the rate are concerned chiefly with the needs of landowners.

In view of the two-fold nature of the land credit problem, two distinct kinds of legislation are needed. No one program of reform is capable of treating both classes of farmers alike without being prejudicial to the interests of the farm tenant. It follows, therefore, that some provision should be made whereby tenants will be encouraged to become their own masters; and, on the other hand, independent machinery should be established to enable landowners to obtain a rate of interest commensurate with the security they have to offer. These two problems of land credit legislation will now be given separate consideration.

CHAPTER IV

Land Credit for Landowners

The problem of supplying landowners with capital for the improvement and development of their farms is not a difficult one. It involves merely the establishment of new and specialized machinery which will provide for a longer term of loans, repayment of the principal by amortization, and the elimination of excessive commission charges.

In accomplishing this reform, direct government aid is undesirable and unnecessary. The well established principle that the state, as the guardian of its citizens, should protect the weak against the strong is, fortunately enough, inapplicable in the case of landowners. As a class they are among the most prosperous citizens. To enhance their individual prosperity by extending to them the credit of the state or federal government would be an unwarranted infringement of democratic principles. In all justice the same assistance would needs be granted to merchants, manufacturers, and other individual borrowers. It follows, therefore, that in the establishment of a system designed to extend land credit to farmers on as favorable terms as have been accorded to the commercial and industrial classes by the national and state banking systems, chief reliance should be placed upon self-help and private initiative. Where these individual qualities offer a basis for remedial action, direct government aid would be pernicious and destructive.

Those who advocate coöperative organization among farmers as the proper remedy for a defective land credit system have a point of view which requires more serious consideration. The claim is forcefully made that, with the proper legislative authority, farmers could take the initiative, form coöperative land credit institutions and solve their own land credit problems. In support of the feasibility of such institutions and what they might accom-

plish for the farmer in this country, the advocates of the plan are wont to cite the work of the German landschafts.

In general, a landschaft is a highly organized association of landowners who are authorized to borrow on collective rather than individual mortgage security. By issuing bonds secured by mortgages on the property of all members they can offer to the investor a security far superior to that possessed by the individual mortgage. The collective guaranty and the requirement that all borrowers be members constitute the fundamental and characteristic features of these associations.

The origin of the landschaft was not voluntary. At the close of the Seven Years' War, agriculture was in an impoverished condition and interest rates were high. To relieve the distress of the large landowners who were more deeply involved in debt than any other class, and on whom the burden of the war had fallen heaviest, Frederick the Great forced the nobles of Silesia to form a landschaft. Whether the members of the association wished to borrow or not, their lands were made jointly liable for all loans granted by the association.

The Silesian landschaft was founded in 1770.[62] Similar associations were founded for Pomerania in 1781, for western Prussia in 1787, and for eastern Prussia in 1788. These were compulsory associations of all the large landowners within a province, whether borrowers or not, and their estates were compulsorily included in the guaranty of the bonds of the association of that province. The four associations thus formed have retained with few exceptions their original characteristics although the actual liability of non-borrowing guarantors has greatly diminished by reason of the fact that the associations have accumulated large reserves to cover possible losses.

At present, there are in Germany twenty-three of these coöperative land credit institutions. Seventeen are located in Prussia, two in Saxony, and one in each of the states of Bavaria, Wurttemberg, Mecklenburg, and Brunswick. With the exception of the Wurttemberg Credit Association, which issues bonds on the security of both urban and rural mortgages, their bonds are secured

62. Unless otherwise indicated, the facts in regard to these associations have been drawn from J. R. Cahill's *Report to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries of an Inquiry into Agricultural Credit and Agricultural Coöperation in Germany.* (Sen. Doc. 17, 63 Cong., 1 Sess.) pp. 38-54.

by mortgages on rural property only. For the most part, the associations in Prussia are confined in their operations to the provinces within which they are located. The associations outside of Prussia operate over the whole of their respective states.

The landschafts which were formed during the nineteenth century are of a different pattern from the older institutions. An example of their method of organization and operation—although in non-essential matters these later institutions differ from one another—is afforded by the Mortgage Credit Association for the Province of Saxony, founded in 1864.[63] This association is directly under the supervision of a royal commissioner and the minister of agriculture. Its members consist of borrowers who have pledged rural property as security for loans. In general assembly they elect a council of administration which, in turn, appoints a board of directors. One of the members of the board is the general director, another is an active member of the landschaft, and among others is a syndic who attends to all legal matters affecting the association. One of the most significant powers of the landschaft is the power to enforce payment of all debts which are due it without recourse to law.

In every district of the province is a representative of the landschaft through whom local business is transacted, subject of course to the approval of the board of directors. Loans are made up to two-thirds of the value of land. The principal basis for determining the value of the borrower's land is the land-tax assessment. If the borrower applies for a loan of twenty to thirty times the net income of the land, no special appraisement is required. If, however, the applicant calls for a larger amount, two special appraisers are sent as agents of the landschaft who, together with the district representative, appraise the land offered as security. If properly secured, there is no limit to the size of an individual loan. On one estate the association has loaned the sum of 3,000,000 marks; on the other hand, a borrower must possess at least four acres of land before he can become a member of the organization.

When all matters pertaining to title and appraisement have been settled by the landschaft and the mortgage has been made out and registered, the borrower receives the amount of his loan in bonds of

63. The facts in regard to this particular association have been drawn from *Information and Evidence* (Sen. Doc. 214, 63 Cong., 1 Sess.) pp. 363-367.

the association. These are not secured, as were those issued by the older landschafts, by a mortgage upon specific property with concurrent guaranty by the association, but represent a claim upon the association for a mortgage claim of like amount. The liability of the borrower is limited to the amount he has borrowed plus 5 per cent. The rate of interest paid on the bonds varies from 3 to 3½ per cent.

In order that the borrower might find a ready market for his bonds, the association followed the example set by other landschafts and established, in 1898, the Landschaft Bank. The officers of this institution are the officers of the association. It has a working capital of 3,000,000 marks representing the profits and savings turned over to it by the association. Although it conducts a general banking business, its primary purpose is to act as intermediary between the borrower and the ultimate purchaser of his bonds, and to facilitate the amortization of loans which the landschaft has made. It therefore buys the borrower's bonds at the current market price for resale to the investor. The borrower pays to the bank the regular interest rate which the bonds bear, one-fourth per cent for the bank's services, and three-fourths per cent yearly for amortization. The earnings which accrue from these operations are carried to the association's surplus fund until the fund has equaled 5 per cent of all outstanding obligations. Since the association has no capital stock and pays no dividends, the excess earnings above the reserve fund are used to augment the borrower's amortization payments thereby reducing the term of his loan.

The amortization payments which are continually being made to the Landschaft Bank are used to redeem the landschaft's bonds so that there may not be more bonds outstanding than are covered by mortgage security. The bonds are subject to call at par. If the market price is above par, the bank may select by lot sufficient bonds to cancel maturing mortgages; if the price is below par, bonds will be purchased in the open market by the bank or the borrower and the amortization payments will be completed that much sooner. The various landschafts make it a regular practice to buy in their bonds when the market is favorable.

In 1873, when a number of associations were having difficulty in marketing their bonds, there was created a Central Mortgage Credit Association for the Prussian State for the purpose of widen-

ing the market for the bonds of the provincial associations. At present, eight of the Prussian associations are affiliated with the central organization. It is managed by a board of directors composed of the leading officials of the affiliated associations. It issues central bonds for its members who have retained, nevertheless, full authority to issue their own bonds as before. If a farmer finds that the bonds of the central landschaft are selling at a better price than are the bonds of his own association, he may request that his bonds be given in exchange for bonds of the central landschaft.

The par value of the bonds of the twenty-three provincial landschafts together with the outstanding issues of the central landschaft amounted at the end of 1910 to well over $800,000,000. A little more than one-eighth of this amount was represented by central bonds. The volume of the outstanding bonds of the central association was exceeded by the bonds of both the Silesian Mortgage Credit Association and the East Prussian Mortgage Credit Association. It appears that the central landschaft has not been altogether successful, for its bonds have not maintained superiority over those issued by the provincial associations. This is largely due to the fact that the market for such bonds has always been mainly provincial, and furthermore to a strong distaste on the part of the associations themselves for centralized organization.

Experience has shown, however, that the methods employed by the provincial associations for financing the long-term credit requirements of landowners are thoroughly in accord with sound land credit principles. The loans which they grant are not subject to recall. They are repayable at the mortgagor's convenience and the extinction of the debt is accomplished gradually. Owing to the abundant security possessed by their bonds they can be sold on advantageous terms, and the landowner is able to borrow for long-time periods without being subject to the expensive necessity of renewal or to any uncertainty as regards his average rate of interest. In fact the landschaft bonds have, at times, an investment status superior to that possessed by government bonds—if the comparative market prices of these securities are reliable criteria. On June 13, 1913, when the 4, 3½, and 3 per cent government bonds of Germany were selling at 96, 84.80, and 74.80 respectively,

landschaft bonds bearing the same rates of interest were quoted at 100, 96, and 80.50 respectively.[64]

Moreover, the ease with which these institutions mobilize land credit is evidenced by the fact that the borrower's actual rate of interest corresponds very closely to the rate paid on the bonds. He pays, of course, a small entrance fee to his association and contributes moderately to the cost of administration. But these expenses are extremely low, for the principal reason that the associations are non-profit organizations. The directors themselves are landowners and borrowers holding honorary office. They are thoroughly acquainted with the individual needs of landowners and the value of landed property. The management is therefore both efficient and inexpensive. Some associations are able, on account of their large accumulation of funds, to grant loans to members with scarcely any extra charge beyond the immediate expenditure actually incurred.

If it were possible to adapt these institutions to meet the needs of American landowners, both large and small, one phase of the land credit problem would be easily solved. And, indeed, nothing should be done in any way prejudicial to the formation of such organizations. On the contrary, if it is so desired, they should be given legislative sanction under conditions which would allow government supervision and insure careful management. But in the absence of all American precedent in this field of activity it is not likely that a mere enabling act would effectively accomplish the needed results. Unless an association imposed on borrowers a heavy liability in addition to that imposed by their mortgage contracts, the bonds would be regarded with suspicion by conservative investors. Moreover, if additional liability were imposed, *good* farmers would be loath to join an association. Rather than create a lien on their property for the benefit of others, they would prefer to borrow from other sources. Thus the chances for successful organization would be extremely small.

In this connection, it should be remembered that the first associations in Germany were compulsory organizations. It was not until their success had been firmly established that other associations were voluntarily formed. For the most part these associations of borrowers were not coöperative in structure—only two were

64. Statement of David Lubin, Sen. Doc. 196, 63 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 49.

formed with a capital stock after the manner of a true coöperative credit association. Yet all of them had in their foundation a strong coöperative spirit.

It is this that is lacking with the American farmer. The frontier stage is not far enough in the past to have allowed the development of a coöperative spirit. The farmer is still a strong individualist. Living a comparatively isolated life, he has become accustomed to looking after his own affairs without the assistance of others; and it is seldom that he will brook their interference. On account of the continual shifting of the rural population, the character of his neighbors is ever a matter of uncertainty. There is, moreover, no religious or communal bond to overcome the mutual distrust that frequently arises. These conditions militate strongly against the growth of a coöperative spirit. Furthermore, farmers are suspicious of coöperative enterprise in all its forms. Partly for this reason coöperation in buying and selling has made little headway. The number of failures has been large. It would seem unwise, therefore, to urge the establishment of farmers' coöperative land credit banks until coöperation in its milder and safer forms has secured a permanent footing.

For the present, then, it is unlikely that the landschaft form could be successfully adapted to American needs except by limiting rigidly the liability of borrowers and by permitting others than borrowers to become financially interested. But such an institution would differ radically from the landschaft form. It would be an association composed of lenders as well as of borrowers. In short, the admission of non-borrowing members seeking pecuniary gain would be a virtual acceptance of the contention that only through private enterprise can the land credit problem of landowners be properly solved. Those who believe in the efficacy of private initiative as a remedial agent for a defective land credit system would advocate the establishment of institutions patterned after the joint-stock mortgage banks of Germany or the Crédit Foncier of France.

Of the thirty-seven joint-stock mortage banks in Germany, the Prussian Central Land Credit Company, organized in 1870, is by far the most important institution of its kind for making loans to landowners.[65] It operates over the whole of Germany and has over

65. The facts in regard to this institution have been drawn from the Cahill *Report*, Sen. Doc. 17, 63 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 72-74.

four hundred appointed agencies. It makes long-term loans, varying in size from 1,000 to 6,000,000 marks, up to two-thirds of the value of farm lands as appraised by its own valuation experts. On the security of the mortgages it may issue bonds up to twenty times its original capital of 36,000,000 marks. Provision is made for the extinguishment of loans in 56½ years by an annual amortization charge of one-half per cent, or in 44 years by an annual payment of 1 per cent. After a loan has been in force for a period of ten years it may be paid off in full if the borrower so desires.

In 1913, the rate of interest paid on the bonds varied from 4 to 4½ per cent. The rate paid by the farmer exceeds this rate by about one-fourth per cent. He pays, in addition, a charge of two or three per cent of his loan at the time the loan is granted—one-half per cent goes to the state, one-half per cent to the bank, and the remainder is used to cover other expenses. Owing to the greater liberality in the conditions under which loans may be granted, the bank is an active competitor of the landschafts in the farm mortgage business.

The capital stock and surplus of the bank is 62,400,000 marks. About one-third of this amount is used as a revolving fund to keep the outstanding bonds equal in volume to the mortgages which secure them. When it is necessary to reduce the number of outstanding bonds, they are purchased by the bank in the open market if the price is below par; otherwise they are called by lot at par. In 1912, the total volume of outstanding bonds secured by mortgages amounted to 802,877,650 marks. The value of rural and urban mortgages held as security amounted to 275,835,053 and 560,948,153 marks respectively. No other German mortgage bank has invested so large a proportion of its funds in mortgages on rural property. Compared with the landschafts, its volume of rural mortgage loans is exceeded only by that of the Silesian, the East Prussian, and the Posen associations.

But the bank is not confined in its operations to the granting of loans on the security of rural and urban property. It makes long-term loans to municipalities, towns, parishes, etc., and provides the necessary capital for such loans by issuing communal bonds. Unlike its mortgage bonds these may be used for the investment of trust funds. The bank does not conduct a general deposit business, but its other operations are sufficiently profitable

to enable it to pay liberal dividends to its shareholders. In 1913 the dividend rate on a capital of 44,400,000 marks was 9½ per cent. From 1870 when the bank was organized down to 1912, the average annual dividend rate was 9.13 per cent.

The business of the bank is under the immediate supervision of a special royal commissioner, subject to the authority of the ministry of agriculture. The special commissioner acts as fiduciary agent and must give his consent before any bond issue can be made. He may require a fresh valuation of any property on which a mortgage has been taken or he may refuse altogether to accept a given mortgage as security for bond issues. The president of the bank and members of the board of directors are required to have their appointments confirmed by the Crown. Since the bank enjoys certain special privileges and is under the strict supervision of the government, it holds the confidence of the investing public.

The Crédit Foncier of France, organized in 1852, is the largest and most successful institution of its kind in the world. It was the outgrowth of a law of the same year providing for the organization of decentralized land credit institutions. Within a short time, however, the plan came to be regarded with disfavor. Greater centralization was deemed advisable in order to insure solvency, proper governmental supervision, and public confidence. Accordingly, the Land Bank of Paris, the first company to be organized under the law, was authorized to absorb other existing companies. The new institution, officially known as *La Société du Crédit Foncier de France*, was given a subsidy of 10,000,000 francs and was granted a monopoly for twenty-five years. Although the monopoly was never renewed, the bank retained certain special privileges which have practically eliminated all possibility of competition.

The following account of the Crédit Foncier has been given by Myron T. Herrick:[66]

"The governor and two subgovernors of the Crédit Foncier are appointed for life by the President of the Republic. It is subject to the surveillance of the Treasury Department of the Government, and three of its directors must be high officers of the department. It may use the Government treasuries for the receipt of its

66. *Preliminary Report on Land and Agricultural Credit in Europe*, Sen. Doc. 967, 62 Cong., 3 Sess., p. 21.

dues and the deposit of its surplus funds and enjoys a reduction in stamp and registration duties.

"Its debentures are registered or payable to bearer, and the claim of a third party to them can not be made in court except in case of theft or loss. Trust and public funds may be invested in them. Its mortgages are exempt from the decennial registration and consequent charges required of other mortgages. It has a cheap and speedy method of 'purging' the title of real estate in case of disputes. In the event of default the courts can not grant the debtor any delay and payments due it upon loans can not be garnisheed or attached. It is allowed summary proceedings for attaching mortgaged property in case of violation of contracts. If dues are not paid or if the property deteriorates it may attach and sell the property simply upon notice and publication. During attachment proceedings it has a right to all returns from the estate. The sale may be by auction in a civil court or at a notary public's office, if the court permits, and no adverse claim to the proceeds of the sale can be allowed until its claims are fully satisfied.

"The regulations under which the Crédit Foncier transacts its business are very strict. The mortgage loans must be first liens. The property must have a clear and unencumbered title and yield a certain durable income. Loans on theaters, mines, and quarries are not accepted. The amount loaned on any property must not exceed half its value, or one-third the value for vineyards, woods, orchards, and plantations. Factory buildings are estimated without regard to their value for particular purposes. A borrower can not bind himself to pay a greater annuity than the total annual income of the property mortgaged, while on the other hand the society is not allowed to charge borrowers 0.6 per cent over the rate at which it obtains money on its debentures issued at the time of the loans. An excess of only 0.45 per cent is allowed on loans to municipalities. The outstanding loans and debentures issued must exactly correspond in amounts.

"After paying a 5 per cent dividend the Crédit Foncier must set aside between 5 and 20 per cent of the balance of the profits each year for the obligatory reserve, and continue to do so as long as the same does not equal one-half of the capital stock. The investment of this reserve is left to the board of directors. The capital stock of the society must be always maintained at the ratio

of one-twentieth or more of the debentures in circulation and is the primary guaranty of its obligations, especially the debentures. The capital at present is $40,000,000 divided into 400,000 shares of $100 each; but authority has been obtained to increase the same to $50,000,000, represented by 500,000 shares, which will be done before the debentures in circulation pass the legal limit. One-fourth of the capital must be invested in French rentes or other treasury bonds; one-fourth in office buildings of the society, or by loans to French colonies, or in securities deposited with the Bank of France as a guaranty for advances. Shares can not be issued at a price below par. They are nonassessable. The surplus may be loaned on mortgages or to municipalities or may be used in other mortgage business allowed by the statutes; and for buying its own debentures, making advances to borrowers in arrears, or purchasing mortgaged property in foreclosure; and for acquiring commercial paper acceptable by the Bank of France or securities to be deposited with that bank.

"The governor of the Crédit Foncier must be the owner of at least 200 shares of stock of the society. He receives a salary of $8,000. The subgovernors must hold 100 shares each. Their salaries are $4,000. They perform such functions as are delegated to them by the governor, and in order of their nomination fulfill his duties during his absence on account of illness or other causes. The governor appoints and dismisses all agents of the society and superintends the organization of the service in Paris and elsewhere. He countersigns the debentures and signs the share certificates and all other papers and documents and must strive to promote the interests of the society in every way. The governor is the head of the board of directors, which is composed of himself, the two subgovernors, the auditors, and 20 to 23 directors. This body possesses the administrative powers of the society and is beholden only to the laws and the general assembly of the stockholders for the proper exercise of the same. The three auditors are the guardians of the society. Their duties are to watch, investigate, and make reports. The only power they have is to call extraordinary general meetings of the shareholders.

"The general assembly of the stockholders meets regularly once a year. It consists only of the 200 largest stockholders, of whom 40 make a quorum if they hold one-tenth of the stock of the society.

Each member has one vote for every 40 shares of stock held, but can not cast more than five votes in his own name, nor more than ten in his own name by proxy. He has, however, a right to one vote even though his shares be less than 40 in number. The general assembly receives the report of the governor, and also of the auditors, if any. It elects the directors and auditors and decides on all resolutions or proposals for the increase of capital, the amendment of the by-laws and constitution, and generally on all matters not otherwise specifically provided for.

"The only places outside of France where the Crédit Foncier can do business are Algiers and Tunis. Under a clause in its charter which allows it, with the sanction of the Government, to enter into projects for improving the soil, developing agriculture, and to extinguish existing debts on real estate, etc., the society has been authorized to finance drainage projects and to advance money on the paper of the Sous-Comptoir des Entrepreneurs, an incorporated association of builders. It may also receive deposits up to $20,000,000, one-fourth of which must be kept in the Government treasury and the balance invested in Government paper, treasury bonds, or high-class bankable commercial notes and securities. In connection with its banking house it has large deposit vaults.

"The Crédit Foncier is permitted to take short-term mortgages and does a big business in that line. But the true purpose of its existence and the greatest part of its operations are the granting of long-time loans. These are made on mortgages to individuals and without mortgage to municipalities and public establishments. The periods run from 10 to 75 years. The annuities required to be paid for amortizing the loan for the average period used are so small as to appear insignificant. The success achieved by the Crédit Foncier in popularizing the amortization principle for real estate loans is the chief cause of its great renown. At present its interest rate for mortgage loans is 4.3 per cent per annum, for public establishments 4.1 per cent, and 3.85 per cent for municipalities. The total annuity, including both interest and amortization sum, for a 25 year mortgage loan is a little over 6.5 per cent. With this small annual payment the debt is gradually wiped out, and nothing is left to be paid at the end of the term. The longer the term the smaller the annuity, and vice versa. The loans now exceed $870,000,000. * * *

"The Crédit Foncier is obliged to keep the interest and amortization payments in separate accounts, the latter going to create a sinking fund for the retirement of outstanding debentures. As stated above, the amounts of the loans and debentures must balance each other; consequently, as loans are paid up debentures must be paid off. Borrowers have the right to pay in advance, which they frequently exercise, so the proper adjustment of the balance is beyond the control of the society. It is for this reason that the debentures, although calculated to be redeemed synchronously with the loans they represent, have no fixed time for maturity and are recallable at option. In each issue a certain number are repayable by lots, with prizes for the lucky holders. A bond last year drew a prize of $40,000. The right to give prizes at the lottery drawings is one of the special privileges of the society. The debentures are of two kinds—those representing the mortgages are called 'foncières' and those representing the loans to municipalities and public establishments are called 'communales'. They are issued in series. The smallest denomination is $20. They may be bought by installments and are the most popular form of investment in France, being held largely by farmers and poor people in the cities. The issue of 1912 for $100,000,000 at 3 per cent, payable within 70 years, was oversubscribed 18 times. The total land mortgages and municipal indebtedness in France is figured at $2,800,000,000. Nearly one-third of this is represented by the loans of the society."

That the land credit needs of landowners can be adquately supplied by institutions conducted for profit is shown by the successful records of the Prussian Central Land Credit Company and the Crédit Foncier. They have been efficiently managed and carefully supervised. Although differing substantially in the matter of size, both are joint-stock institutions, *i. e.*, associations of lenders rather than of borrowers. They lend on farm mortgage security in conformity with sound land credit principles and mobilize land credit through the issuance of debenture bonds. Owing to the large share capital which they possess and to the rigid supervision imposed by their respective governments, they have retained the confidence of the investing classes.

Undoubtedly some adaptation of these forms would be both

feasible and desirable in the United States. The greater efficiency growing out of private enterprise, the dangers involved in any unnecessary extension of governmental activity, and the improbable success of coöperative land credit render the adoption of any other plan of reform indefensible.

The foundation for some such system is already in existence. There are the numerous farm mortgage companies which, in spite of legislative handicaps and a badly organized system, have been instrumental in reducing the farmer's rate of interest during the last twenty-five years by developing a market for mortgage investments. These agencies would welcome any legislative action designed to promote conservative business practice.[67] In view of the intimacy of their contact with agricultural conditions and what they have already accomplished in the way of mobilizing land credit, it would seem that the first step in any program of reform should be the formulation of some plan for their reorganization.

Much discussion has arisen as to whether or not the new system should be highly centralized. It has been urged, not without a great deal of force, that debenture bonds could not be issued to advantage in this country unless backed by the assets and prestige of a great central institution like the Crédit Foncier. In fact, some doubt has been expressed as to whether debentures could be issued at all. On the other hand it is pointed out that the decentralized mortgage banks of Germany, notably the Prussian Central Land Credit Company, occupy a position scarcely inferior to the Crédit Foncier as bond issuing institutions; and that decentralized banks would be better adapted to deal with American conditions.

In considering this question of centralization, the United States Commission came to the conclusion that, although a central land credit bank having the sole power to issue debenture bonds would command a wider market in the sale of its securities, a system of competitive farm land banks would be more in conformity with the character of American institutions and would, therefore, be better adapted. This opinion seems to be well founded. Public sentiment in the United States is strongly opposed to centralization in banking power—an attitude that is deserving of much weight in

67. See pamphlet entitled *Recommendations of the Farm Mortgage Bankers' Association of America with reference to H. R. 6838 and S. 2986*, Chicago, Feb. 15, 1916.

devising a feasible plan of reform. The commission, however, went too far in recommending that banks be allowed to organize with as small a capital stock as $10,000. If European experience has anything to offer with regard to the formation of joint-stock mortgage banks, it is that they should have a large share capital and should be carefully supervised by government officials. The smaller the banks and the greater their number, the less rigid would government supervision become.

It is true that the American investor is distrustful of debenture bonds. He prefers to hold a mortgage lien on a specific and tangible piece of property regardless of the fact that the ultimate security for his loan is earning capacity rather than property. This preference is clearly shown in the attitude of American investors toward railroad debentures—although the market for these bonds has steadily improved. But collateral trust bonds more nearly resemble in character the bonds that would be issued by an established land-mortgage bank than do railroad debentures. These are frequently sold at high prices. The Northern Pacific-Great Northern collateral trust 4s, secured by the stock of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company, have steadily sold close to par. Many other issues secured by stocks and bonds having a definite income yielding power are well thought of in financial circles.

There is no good reason why the bonds of well regulated farm land banks should not attain a similar standing once the public has become accustomed to the debenture securities. The chief reason for the present attitude of distrust toward these bonds is that the memory of the old farm mortgage craze and its disastrous results still lingers. After 1870 scores of investment companies were formed in the Middle West to make loans on city and rural property. The principal market for their bonds and mortgages was located in the New England and other Eastern States. Their promoters were over confident, their methods faulty, and for the most part they were grossly mismanaged. When the western boom collapsed in the early nineties, these unregulated companies, with few exceptions, failed. Farms mortgaged for more than they were worth were abandoned, interest could not be paid on debentures, and investors refused to renew their loans at maturity. Had their mortgages been drawn for longer terms and the companies them-

selves been subjected to regulatory laws, the effects of the collapse would not have been so cumulative. As it was, the failure of a few large companies involved others until the disaster became widespread. Only those who held on to their investments either because they were unable to dispose of them or because they were confident of a return of prosperity, recovered their losses with the subsequent rise in property values.

The few companies that survived this collapse of real estate and farm values are now the strongest and most prosperous institutions of their kind. One of those is the Pearsons-Taft Land Credit Company of Chicago, established in 1865. It is by far the oldest and largest concern in the United States engaged exclusively in the business of making farm loans. It now has outstanding loans to the amount of $16,000,000 secured by farm mortgages in eighteen states. About three-fourths of these loans are held by its clients in the form of individual mortgages. The balance is held by the company or deposited with the Illinois Trust and Savings Bank under a carefully prepared deed of trust as security for debenture bonds. On April 12, 1916, the official statement of the company showed that bonds to the amount of $8,843,262 were outstanding. The rate of interest which the debentures bear has varied from 4 to 5.3 per cent according to market conditions. They are issued for terms of twenty years and are secured not only by a like amount of farm mortgages but also by a capital stock and surplus of $220,000. Since 1900 the company has been making long-term loans repayable by amortization, but thus far the number of such loans has been small in comparison with the total volume of business.[68]

Evidences of renewed confidence in land-mortgage bonds are not lacking. An example of a farm mortgage institution, more recently formed, which has been successful in issuing debenture bonds is afforded by the Woodruff Trust Company of Joliet. This company, organized under the general trust company laws of Illinois, has been issuing land-mortgage bonds for the past four years. It has a capital stock of $500,000, a majority of which is owned by the stockholders of the First National Bank of Joliet. It makes long-term loans, repayable by amortization, on the security of farm lands at 6 per cent. A loan of $1,000 is amortized

68. The writer is indebted to Oren E. Taft, President of the Pearsons-Taft Land Credit Company, for the facts in regard to the business of this company.

by forty semi-annual payments of $43.26. On the combined security of the mortgages held in trust, the company issues bonds to the public at 5 per cent and invests the proceeds in further agricultural loans. This process leaves a margin of profit sufficiently large to enable it to pay liberal dividends to its stockholders. Although the company is confined in its business operations to a very restricted territory, a statement of its financial condition on May 1, 1916, showed bonds and guaranteed mortgages outstanding to the amount of $1,361,718, a gain of 100 per cent over the outstanding issues of the previous year. Its close affiliation with the First National Bank of Joliet reduces materially the expenses of operation.[69]

Many other companies are in the organization stage. In Wisconsin there has been organized a corporation known as the Wisconsin Mortgage and Security Company, with a capital stock of $100,000. All of its stockholders are bankers intimately acquainted with agricultural conditions throughout the state. It is expected that the company will acquire first farm mortgages from local banks, place them with a trustee under an indenture of trust and issue bonds against them. This institution will merely supplement the state controlled system of rural credits adopted by Wisconsin in 1913.[70]

In Kansas there is being organized the Kansas Land Credit Trust Company with a capital stock of $500,000. It is planned to have the stock widely scattered over the state; to be owned, in fact, by the stockholders in land credit banks. One of these institutions will be established in each county. The local institution will make long-term loans at 6 per cent, turn over the mortgages to the central trust company, and debenture bonds will then be issued against them. Once this system is fully organized it ought to be successful. With a widely scattered body of stockholders, the difficulties heretofore encountered by land-mortgage companies in educating the farmer to a proper understanding of long-term loans and amortization will have been largely overcome. Besides, in providing for an organization extending into every agricultural section of the state, the business of making farm loans can be carried on with a com-

69. See *Rural Credits in Operation*, an address delivered by George Woodruff before the convention of the Southern Commercial Congress at Muskogee, Oklahoma, April 27, 1915.
70. See *Journal of the American Bankers' Association*, Nov., 1915, p. 393.

paratively small margin of expense and the volume of transactions ought to be sufficiently large to assure liberal returns to the stockholders.

Finally, it is noteworthy that two small companies formed in Wisconsin under the law of 1913 have sold approximately $100,000 of land-mortgage bonds bearing 5 per cent,[71] while the Land Bank of the State of New York, organized under the law of 1914, has sold its first bond issue of $50,000 bearing 4½ per cent interest to the Guaranty Trust Company of New York City.[72] Perhaps these laws are open to serious criticism—the former in that it allows bond issuing banks to be formed with too small a capital stock, and the latter for the reason that it has weakened the financial stability of the savings and loan associations.[73] Yet their operation thus far lends strength to the conviction that land-mortgage bonds can be successfully utilized to mobilize land credit in this country.

When provision has been made for the incorporation and regulation of land-mortgage banks, authorized to make long-term loans on the security of farm lands and to provide capital through the sale of debenture bonds, the long-term credit needs of landowners can be readily supplied. It is not to be expected that these institutions will greatly reduce the farmer's rate of interest. An improvement in the method of making loans is, under existing conditions, much more to be desired. But by giving greater mobility to private capital and eliminating the expense growing out of renewal commissions, they can at least give the farmer a rate of interest commensurate with the security he has to offer.

Whether these companies should be organized under a state or federal charter is no longer a question of vital concern. It has been strongly urged, however, that inasmuch as the existing laws governing land transfers, title registration, foreclosure, taxation, and other matters pertaining to land are state laws which differ materially from one state to another, the area of operation of a land-mortgage bank should be confined to a single state so that its bonds would be secured by mortgages of uniform quality; and therefore that legislation providing for the formation and control of such institutions logically belongs within the province of state activity.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 392.
72. *Journal of the American Bankers' Association*, Jan., 1916, p. 576.
73. Cf. *Journal of the American Bankers' Association*, Feb., 1916, p. 675.

Much could be said in favor of state as opposed to federal legislation in this field. But now that the federal government has enacted a rural credit law primarily for the benefit of landowners, there is scarcely any need for the states to concern themselves further with legislation of this kind once they have revised obnoxious laws pertaining to land. The new federal law will undoubtedly hasten this reform in state law. While serious criticism may be directed against its purpose and proposed methods, it will be instrumental, nevertheless, in providing a mobile system of land credit for landowners. It will not, as some have thought, have any far-reaching effect on the welfare of the tenant classes. It does not strike at the cause of the tenancy problem. The credit problem of tenants calls for more radical treatment if land-tenure reform is the goal.

CHAPTER V

Tenancy and Land Tenure Reform

In the sense that its citizens were free to become their own masters, the United States was, during the first century of its existence, truly a "free country". The large supply of unoccupied land and the adoption of a liberal policy for its settlement gave to every agriculturist a ready means of independent livelihood. There was, therefore, an approximate equality in opportunity. So long as these conditions existed, a democracy of equality and economic independence was natural and inevitable; and ownership rather than tenancy remained the characteristic form of land tenure.

But in recent years a change in the form of land tenure has gradually been making its appearance. The percentage of farms operated by their owners is, for the United States as a whole, declining.[74] Although this change became apparent long ago in some of the older states, it is only within the last twenty-five years that tenancy seems to have made great headway. In some sections of the country the decline in the percentage of farms operated by their owners has been nothing short of precipitous. According to the *Thirteenth Census of the United States*,[75] 0.7 per cent of the farms in Oklahoma in 1890 were operated by tenants; by 1910 the percentage had risen to 54.8. In Kansas the percentage of farm tenancy increased from 16.3 in 1880 to 36.8 in 1910. A similar increase is recorded for Nebraska during the same period. These are comparatively new states, where one would expect to find a high percentage of ownership, but the increase in the number of

74. The general increase in the percentage of farm tenancy, as reported by the *Thirteenth Census of the United States*, Vol. V, p. 102, is shown in the following table:

Year	Percentage of farms operated by tenants
1880	25.6
1890	28.4
1900	35.3
1910	37.

75. Vol. V, pp. 125-126.

owned farms in the less fertile portions of the western counties has not been sufficient to counterbalance the rapid increase in tenancy in the older sections. In states like Iowa and Illinois, well developed and long settled, the transition from ownership to tenancy has steadily advanced until at the present time there are several counties in which more than one-half the number of farms under cultivation are operated by tenants. Finally, in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas, less than one-half the number of cultivable farms are operated by their owners.

With regard to the number and status of tenants in the Southwestern States, the Manly Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations says:[76]

"Tenancy in the Southwestern States is already the prevailing method of cultivation and is increasing at a very rapid rate. In 1880, Texas had 65,468 tenant families, comprising 37.6 per cent of all farms in the state. In 1910, tenant farmers had increased to 219,571, and operated 53 per cent of all farms in the state. Reckoning on the same ratio of increase that was maintained between 1900 and 1910, there should be in Texas in the present year (1915) at least 236,000 tenant farmers. A more intensive study of the field, however, shows that in eighty-two counties of the State where tenancy is highest, the average percentage of tenants will approximate sixty.

"For Oklahoma we have not adequate census figures so far back, but at the present time the percentage of farm tenancy in the State is 54.8 and for the 47 counties where the tenancy is highest the percentage of tenancy is 68.13.

"Tenancy, while inferior in every way to farm ownership from a social standpoint, is not necessarily an evil if conducted under a system which protects the tenants and assures cultivation of the soil under proper and economical methods, but where tenancy exists under such conditions as are prevalent in the Southwest, its increase can be regarded only as a menace to the Nation.

"The prevailing system of tenancy in the Southwest is share-tenancy, under which the tenant furnishes his own seed, tools, and teams, and pays to the landlord one-third of the grain and one-fourth of the cotton. There is, however, a constant tendency to

76. *Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations*, pp. 127-131.

increase the landlord's share, through the payment either of cash bonuses or of a higher percentage of the product. Under this system tenants as a class earn only a bare living through the work of themselves and their entire families. Few of the tenants ever succeed in laying by a surplus. On the contrary, their experiences are so discouraging that they move from one farm to the next in the constant hope of being able to better their condition. Without the labor of the entire family the tenant farmer is helpless. As a result, not only is his wife prematurely broken down, but the children remain uneducated and without the hope of any condition better than that of their parents. The tenants having no interest in the results beyond the crops of a single year, the soil is being rapidly exhausted, and the conditions therefore tend to become steadily worse. Even at present a very large proportion of the tenants' families are insufficiently clothed, badly housed, and underfed. Practically all of the white tenants are native born. As a result of these conditions, however, they are deteriorating rapidly, each generation being less efficient and more hopeless than the one preceding.

"A very large proportion of the tenants are hopelessly in debt and are charged exorbitant rates of interest. Over ninety-five per cent of the tenants borrow from some source, and about seventy-five per cent borrow regularly year after year. The average interest rate on all farm loans is 10 per cent, while small tenants in Texas pay 15 per cent or more. In Oklahoma the conditions are even worse, in spite of the enactment of laws against usury. Furthermore, over eighty per cent of the tenants are regularly in debt to the stores from which they secure their supplies, and pay exorbitantly for this credit. The average rate of interest on store credit is conservatively put at 20 per cent and in many cases ranges as high as 60 per cent.

"The leases are largely in the form of oral contracts which run for only one year and which make no provision for compensation to the tenant for any improvements which may be made upon the property. As a result, tenants are restrained from making improvements and in many cases do not properly provide for the upkeep of the property.

"Furthermore, the tenants are in some instances the victims of oppression on the part of landlords. This oppression takes the

form of dictation of character and amount of crops, eviction without due notice, and discrimination because of personal and political convictions. The existing law provides no recourse against such abuses.

"As a result both of the evils inherent in the tenant system and of the occasional oppression by landlords, a state of acute unrest is developing among the tenants and there are clear indications of the beginning of organized resistance which may result in civil disturbances of a serious character.

"The situation is being accentuated by the increasing tendency of the landlords to move to the towns and cities, relieving themselves not only from all productive labor but from direct responsibility for the conditions which develop. Furthermore, as a result of the increasing expenses incident to urban life, there is a marked tendency to demand from the tenant a greater share of the products of his labor.

"The responsibility for the existing conditions rests not upon the landlords, but upon the system itself. The principal causes are to be found in the system of short leases, the system of private credit at exorbitant rates, the lack of a proper system of marketing, the absence of educational facilities, and last, but not least, the prevalence of land speculation.

"A new factor is being introduced into the agricultural situation through the development of huge estates, owned by corporations and operated by salaried managers upon a purely industrial system. The labor conditions on such estates are subject to grave criticism. The wages are extremely low, 80 cents per day being the prevailing rate on one large estate which was thoroughly investigated; arbitrary deductions from wages are made for various purposes; and a considerable part of the wages themselves are paid in the form of coupons, which are, in all essential particulars, the same as the 'script' which has been the source of such great abuse. Furthermore, the communities existing on these large estates are subject to the complete control of the land-owning corporation which may regulate the lives of citizens to almost any extent. There is an apparent tendency toward the increase of these large estates and the greatest abuses may be expected if they are allowed to develop unchecked".

There are a number of factors that have contributed to the growth of farm tenancy. In a particular community tenancy may be due to backward educational facilities, to pure inertia on the part of the rural classes, or to a preponderance of foreign-born farmers in the rural population. Or it may be due to the fact that the prevailing type of agriculture lends itself readily to a system of tenant farming. The tenant is seldom equipped for cultivating a large farm intensively. He can cultivate a large farm extensively or a small farm intensively. In the grain-growing sections of the Middle West, for instance, where the size of the farm unit is large and where extensive methods of cultivation are still possible, tenancy has increased rapidly. In the South, tenancy grew out of the agricultural disorganization following the emancipation of the slaves and the breaking up of the large estates shortly after the Civil War.

But the primary cause of the general increase in farm tenancy lies in the fact that land values have risen. The young man who aspires to land ownership can no longer depend upon the generosity of the federal government. On the contrary, if he has only his hands to work with, he is obliged to spend a number of years in apprenticeship, either as a farm tenant or laborer, in order to acquire sufficient capital from his earnings to become his own master. In spite of natural handicaps many succeed eventually in acquiring farms, but owing to the continued rise in land values the possibility of acquiring land from its earnings in the course of a natural life time is gradually becoming more remote.

The close correspondence between land values and the percentage of tenancy in the North Central States, as reported by the *Thirteenth Census of the United States*,[77] is shown in the table on the following page.

The ratio between the value of land and the percentage of farm tenancy is not comparable in all of these states for the reason that they are not uniform in character. Yet in certain contiguous states such as Kansas and Nebraska, Iowa and Illinois, where agricultural conditions are very similar, or in contiguous counties within a state, the ratio of land values to tenancy is fairly constant. In the Southern States, where land values are much lower and the percentage of tenancy much higher, the ratio, while not comparable

77. Vol. V, table 22, p. 122 and table 30, p. 80.

State	Percentage of tenancy	Average value of land per acre
Kansas	36.8	$35.50
Nebraska	38.2	41.84
South Dakota	24.6	34.70
North Dakota	14.3	25.70
Minnesota	21.0	37.00
Iowa	37.8	83.00
Missouri	29.9	41.76
Illinois	41.4	94.90
Wisconsin	13.9	43.30
Michigan	16.0	32.00
Indiana	30.0	62.00
Ohio	28.4	53.30

to that obtaining in the Northern States, is nevertheless sufficiently uniform from county to county to justify the conclusion that rising land values have been largely responsible for the general increase in tenancy.

If the rise in the value of land had been proportionate to the increase in its productive capacity, it is not likely that tenancy would have increased so rapidly. But at the present time the value of land is speculative. Owing to the exhaustion of the supply of free land and the rapid rise in the prices of farm products during the last fifteen years, there has been a growing confidence in the minds of farmers that the ownership of land is equivalent to the certainty of an unearned increment. All classes indeed have contributed to the speculative spirit. The prosperous landowner, on realizing a surplus from his farming operations, has found it more profitable to invest his funds in additional land than to attempt to increase the productivity of the land he already possessed. Likewise, merchants, bankers, and private investors, equally aware of the possibilities attached to land ownership, have discovered in land acquisition a pleasant and profitable avocation. Much of the land so acquired has naturally been turned over to tenants (many of whom are wholly incompetent) for a cash rental insufficient in some cases to meet the annual tax levy.

The result of this speculative activity has been to raise the value of land far above any investment valuation that could be made on the basis of present productive capacity. Land which yields a cash rent of $3 per acre may sell for considerably more than $100.

When the cost of borrowing on farm mortgage security is from 6 to 7 per cent, the natural return from the land is less than one-half the expenses that would be incurred by the prospective purchaser.

That it is more profitable for the man with small capital to rent a farm than to buy one has been clearly demonstrated by investigations of the federal Department of Agriculture.[78] In the summer of 1911, the Department made a farm-management survey of certain districts in Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa. On two hundred and seventy-three farms operated by their owners, it was found that after deducting 5 per cent interest on the capital invested the operators received an average labor income of $408. On two hundred and forty-seven rented farms, tenants received an average labor income of $870, and landlords an average interest rate of 3½ per cent on their invested capital. Where the owners who cultivated their own farms were allowed 3½ per cent interest on their investment instead of 5 per cent, they received approximately the same labor income as tenants. "One farmer out of every three paid for the privilege of working his farm",[79] expecting to recover his current loss from the natural rise in the value of land.

Thus land speculation, even though the land be cultivated, has given rise to a ratio between farm earnings and expenses extremely unfavorable to ownership by the actual cultivator. So long as this ratio continues, tenancy may be expected to go on increasing. The period of apprenticeship which the man of small means must serve as a tenant must continue steadily to grow longer. This is a situation not to be viewed with complacency. Face to face with the prospect of life-long tenancy, the young farmer of ambition and enterprise is likely to abandon the occupation of farming for the higher money wages and more attractive social life of the city. The gradual decline in the population of many rural communities bears witness to the strength of this tendency. The most vigorous blood has been irreparably lost. Those who have remained on the soil without the vision of economic independence have fallen victims to an enervating environment. Already, there has developed a type of American tenant not far removed in intelligence and mode of living from the level of European peasantry.

Moreover, as a system, farm tenancy is wasteful. The tenant

78. See *Bulletin No. 41*, United States Department of Agriculture, 1914, pp. 9-12.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

depletes the soil, neglects the maintenance of farm buildings, and manifests little interest in the application of scientific principles to agriculture. Having no permanent ties to the community in which he lives, he is unconcerned with the betterment of roads, the improvement of educational facilities, or the development of a wholesome community life. These landmarks of tenancy are not easily destroyed.

Finally, experience has shown that a system of tenant farming gives rise to endless friction between the tenant and landowning classes. Sooner or later absentee landlordism becomes the rule. The relation between owner and tenant becomes what Carlyle would have called a "cash nexus", necessitating continual and unfriendly adjustment. These conditions militate strongly against the spirit of American institutions. Concurrently with the growth of absentee landlordism, rural population is divided into classes, landlords and landless, and there arises an inequality in opportunity directly opposed to a democracy of equality and independence.

In a democracy, then, the ideal form of land tenure is ownership. Opportunity to acquire and the right to possess hold for the young man a certain magic which makes for initiative, independence, and citizenship. Unlike the farm tenant, the cultivator who owns his own farm is interested in the welfare of his community and the maintenance of property rights. The contrast is tersely expressed in the well-known sentiment, "Any man would die for a home, but who would die for a boarding house?" Even socialists, strong in their advocacy of collective ownership of all the instruments of production, find difficulty in arguing out of existence the social advantages to be derived from a system of limited holdings. Indeed, in some of the writings of modern socialists there is a tendency to withdraw from the old extreme position and to grant the desirability of small land proprietors. Only through some such concession in doctrine can the socialist appeal arouse any interest among the millions of small farm owners.

Private ownership of agricultural land, where the land is held as the property of the cultivator, does not give rise to great inequality. On the contrary, it fosters that spirit of equality and independence so essential to the welfare and content of the rural classes. In short, landowners who cultivate their own farms are the best type of agricultural workers. Like Jefferson's "cultiva-

tors of the earth", they "are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country and wedded to its liberty and interests by the most lasting bonds".[80]

There are various ways of attacking the tenancy problem in a democracy. One of the simplest devices for this purpose is the tax weapon. If a special tax, say one per cent, were imposed on land not operated by the owner, it would check the growth of absentee landlordism. If, in addition, a progressive tax were imposed on all holdings above a certain minimum value, it would tend to discourage land speculation—one of the primary causes of farm tenancy. There seems to be a strong need for such taxes. For although absentee landlordism has not yet become a positive menace to the democracy of rural life, the speculative character of land values is indicative evidence that the problem will soon emerge. So long as the value of land continues to rise, the owners of large estates will be extremely loath to part with their holdings. And if, perchance, they find the acquisition of additional land to be a burdensome investment in their own generation, they are wont to derive abundant consolation from the assurance that their children will have the benefit of an unearned increment and sufficient soil to support a healthy family tree! Large farms so bequeathed are not likely to be cultivated by the beneficiaries.

Concentration in land ownership has already assumed large proportions. In 1905, the Public Lands Commission reported that "nearly everywhere the large landowner has succeeded in monopolizing the best tracts, whether of timber or agricultural land".[81] In 1915 the Commission on Industrial Relations reported that "the farms of 1,000 acres and over, * * * valued at two and one-third billion dollars, comprise 19 per cent of all the farm lands of the country and are held by less than one per cent of the farm owners".[82] Another investigator has declared that "the drift toward concentration of landownership is alarming; already 5 per cent of the total area of the United States is owned by less than

80. *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, (Ford ed.) Vol. IV, p. 88.
81. Sen. Doc. 154, 58 Cong., 3 Sess., p. 14.
82. *Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations*, p. 35.

2,000 persons. The holding of lands for speculative purposes has become an evil of menacing proportions".[83]

A progressive land tax together with a special tax on absentees would, if properly administered, have a remedial effect on the tenancy problem. By discouraging concentration in holdings and by reducing the speculative value of farm lands, it would tend to readjust the ratio between farm earnings and expenses so that the ownership of land would not be beyond the reach of the actual cultivator. But it is highly improbable that any such measures could be effectively carried out in this country. The use of the tax weapon for the purpose of social or economic reform has always been attended with difficulties well-nigh insuperable. If it is imposed expressly for the purpose of breaking up large estates, it may easily be evaded. Moreover, it could be imposed in the United States only by the state governments, which, in the past, have shown themselves utterly incompetent to cope with the problems involved in the administration of simple property taxes. Under these conditions it would be futile to hope for a general application of the tax remedy or, if it were applied, to expect the states to accomplish any practical or desirable results.

One of the most drastic proposals that has been made for dealing with tenancy and related problems is that the state, as the guardian of its citizens, should enter extensively into the business of acquiring land and, as the sole landowner, should reduce all farmers to the status of tenants. The advocates of this plan claim, among other things, that it would overcome the vexatious relations that are likely to arise between the farm tenant and the private landowner. Others who have not completely lost faith in the institution of private property would offer a variant and less radical proposal; in effect, that the state should lease the land so acquired in small holdings to cultivators on terms that would render ultimate ownership possible.

The latter method was adopted in a small way in Great Britain in 1908 with the passage of the Small Holdings and Allotments Act.[84] In that country the value of land has come to be excessive on account of the social position which ownership affords, and

83. Charles W. Holman: *Marketing and Farm Credits*, p. 321. A collection of papers read at the third annual session of The National Conference on Marketing and Farm Credits.

84. For a fuller discussion of the provisions of this act and the effects of its operation, see Herrick and Ingalls, *Rural Credits*, pp. 148-151.

tenancy has long been the characteristic form of land tenure. According to the terms of the Act, designed partly to mitigate the tenancy evil, the government is authorized to acquire, under certain conditions, that portion of any farm in England or Wales in excess of fifty acres and to sell or lease it to a farmer or laborer who desires land for the purpose of cultivation. If the owner and the government can not agree as to what constitutes a fair price for the land, the government may acquire control of it compulsorily.

The effect of this drastic measure has been to make the ownership of large estates less attractive by actually destroying a certain portion of their capital value. Several members of the peerage have been intimidated into converting their ancestral estates into cash lest the government should adopt even more stringent measures looking toward complete land nationalization. Incidentally, the outlook of the British tenant has been substantially improved. From year to year there has been a steady increase in the number of small holdings. Up to 1913, 154,977 acres had been acquired either by purchase or lease for the benefit of the small cultivator.

This piece of legislation was not the first of its kind to be passed by the British government. It was merely an adaptation of the drastic principles that had been successfully employed for a number of years in landlord-ridden Ireland, a country whose history is essentially one of a land struggle. For many generations the Irish peasantry were steeped in misery and poverty due to the prevailing system of large estates and absenteeism. The greater the thrift and industry of the tenant classes the more burdensome their rental obligations became. In years of agricultural prosperity it was the practice of landlords to raise the occupiers' rent, while in adverse years the rental payments fell into arrears. In the years of irregular crop production following the potato famine, the estrangement in the relations between landlords and tenants became acute. Discontent grew into open revolt, the property of landlords was wantonly destroyed, while the rent collectors and eviction bailiffs met with organized resistance from the peasantry.

It was out of these distressing conditions that the Irish land policy arose.[85] In 1870, Gladstone's first land act was passed. It was the earliest definite attempt to deal with the grievances of the

85. Unless otherwise indicated the facts in regard to the Irish land-purchase legislation have been drawn from C. F. Bastable's article, *The Irish Land Purchase Act of 1903*, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Nov., 1903, pp. 1-21.

Irish tenant. It sought not only to provide for an amicable adjustment of the relations between landlord and tenant but also to facilitate the sale of land to tenants. Owing, however, to continued agricultural depression the act failed to accomplish the purpose for which it was intended and further remedial legislation was demanded. This demand was partly met by the act of 1881. It provided especially for "fixity of tenure", a "fair rent", the right of "free sale" of the tenants' interest in rented land, and created a special commission to determine the "fair rent" of the tenants' holdings. It was essentially a rent-fixing act the immediate effect of which was to cause a reduction of more than 20 per cent in the average rentals. But its purchase clauses were unsuccessful and numerous amendments were subsequently made in order to facilitate the transfer of land from landlords to tenants.

The operation of these laws greatly improved the status of the Irish tenants. By 1903 a large portion of the land in Ireland was either owned by the actual cultivators or was held by them at fixed rents. But there was still much dissatisfaction. Landlords, knowing that their proprietorship had been rendered insecure, were desirous of selling their estates, and they were confronted with the obvious difficulty that the only possible purchasers were tenants of limited means. The tenants, moreover, were discontented because they were not always able to acquire complete control of their holdings.

Accordingly, the interests of these two classes were joined by the Irish Land Purchase Act of 1903. This legislation marked the climax in the evolution of the Irish land-tenure reform policy. It was essentially a land-purchase rather than a rent-fixing act. It reconstructed the Land Commission which had been created in 1881 and gave it authority to purchase land with government funds, for resale to tenants, when the owners voluntarily agreed to sell at an estimated price. But the most important method of effecting a transfer of land was by direct agreement between landlord and tenants for the sale of a whole estate. Here the parties concerned were to agree on a price to be paid the landlord; that is, they were to agree to a reduction of the tenants' rent on which the price of land is based. Rents fixed before 1896 were to be reduced at least 20 and not more than 40 per cent before transfer could be sanctioned; rents fixed after that date were to be reduced between

10 and 30 per cent. The Estates Commission—an administrative branch of the Land Commission—was required to accept any agreement between landlord and tenants which satisfied these conditions as to reduction. It could, if adequate reason were shown, sanction sales outside the limits of these maxima and minima reductions. Furthermore, it could acquire lands compulsorily if its offers to purchase were refused.

This legislation and its amendments necessarily involved the credit of the British government. Landowners were to receive payment for their lands in cash, the amount being determined by the annuity which the purchaser agreed to pay. In addition, those who sold their entire estates were to receive a cash bonus of 12 per cent of the purchase price. Funds for these purposes were to be obtained for the most part by the issue of British government stock bearing 2¾ per cent interest. In short, the government virtually forced the landowners to sell their estates and advanced 100 per cent of the purchase price (repayable in instalments) to tenant purchasers. In 1909 the purchaser's annuity was fixed at 3½ per cent and the period for the extinction of a loan at 68½ years.[86]

Naturally, the Irish land-purchase policy has been severely criticized. Its critics have condemned it as paternalistic. They have contended that it would tend to destroy individualism and personal initiative. But in view of the results already accomplished such criticism is unjust and unwarranted. The magic of property has given the Irish peasant a new incentive. His industry has increased, the appearance of homes and farm buildings has greatly improved, and the disorder which formerly existed on account of landlord and tenant relations has practically disappeared. In 1915 over 450,000 farmers owned their homes representing two-thirds of all the land in Ireland, whereas in 1876 over half of the land was owned by about 700 men.[87] This transformation has been effected only because an opportunity for self-help and economic independence was offered.

Nearly every European government lends its credit in some form or other for the purpose of helping the poorer classes to help themselves. In Norway, a most interesting and suggestive ex-

86. Herrick and Ingalls: *Rural Credits*, p. 157.
87. Charles W. Holman: *Marketing and Farm Credits*, p. 317.

periment in state aid to land purchasers has been on trial since 1903. In that year the Norwegian Parliament established the Norwegian Bank for Laborers' Holdings and Dwellings to provide needy laborers or farmers with capital for the purchase of land or the erection of buildings.[88] The main purpose underlying the adoption of this program was to retard the continuous movement of the rural population to the cities. Furthermore, two-thirds of the cultivated farms in Norway were of a size which required the employment of paid laborers. It was thought that by encouraging agricultural laborers to become the owners of their own homesteads a larger supply of labor would be available for the country districts.

The capital of the bank is supplied out of government funds. In 1912 it amounted to $2,680,000. Its directors are the directors of the Norwegian Mortgage Bank at Christiania and its management is under the supervision of the minister of finance. Loans may be granted for two purposes—either for the purchase of small farms or for the erection or purchase of laborers' dwellings. A small farm is one of not less than 1.24 acres nor more than 4.94 acres of cultivated land, the value of which does not exceed $804. Loans for the purchase of such holdings are made by the bank to applicants who are Norwegian citizens, who have not previously owned rural real estate, who are capable of cultivating the land, and who do not own property valued at more than $402. The maximum loan is limited to nine-tenths of the appraised value of the property to be purchased. It may be made directly to an individual with the guaranty of his commune, or the bank may advance the money to a commune for the purchase and subdivision of land into allotments for laborers' dwellings. The maximum rate of interest on these loans is 3½ per cent. They run for terms of forty-two years and the repayment of the principal need not begin until the sixth year.

Loans for the erection or purchase of laborers' dwellings are granted under the same general conditions either to individuals of "moderate means" or to building societies and communes. In all cases they are secured by the tax power of the commune. The land on which the laborer's house is to be located must not exceed

88. For fuller details in regard to the operation of this system see *Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics*, No. 158, pp. 389-401.

1.24 acres nor must the combined value of house and land exceed $1,340 in towns or $804 in the country. Loans of this type bear 4 per cent interest. They are drawn for terms of twenty-eight years and repayment of the principal begins after the second year. All loans whether for the purchase of small holdings or the erection of dwellings may be repaid at any time by the borrower.

The bank may increase its loanable funds, if insufficient, by issuing bonds so long as the outstanding issues do not exceed six times its capital. The bonds bear an interest rate determined by the bank directors. They run for periods varying from thirty to eighty years and are withdrawn gradually by lot. The bonds as well as the loans authorized by the bank are guaranteed by the state. Up to June 30, 1913, the bank had placed 22,600 guaranteed loans, of which 13,140 were for the purchase of land holdings and 9,460 for the erection of dwellings. The total outstanding loans amounted to about $8,576,000. From the time of the bank's organization, 174 foreclosure sales had been made but with scarcely any loss to the state.

Other notable experiments in state aid to agricultural and, directly or indirectly, to industrial workers are in operation in Denmark and the Australian States. With regard to the Danish system, the federal Department of Labor has given the following account:[89]

"The special advantages which have existed in Denmark for the small peasant proprietors since 1899 are of great interest and importance in the agricultural development of Denmark. A series of laws beginning with that of March 24, 1899, furnished to rural and urban laborers of small means State funds with which to purchase small holdings. Each law was passed for a term of only five years, but so beneficial were the results that no law failed of reenactment. The most recent law now in force is that of June, 1914, which is to continue in force for three years.

"According to this law workmen and other persons of small means between 25 and 50 years of age who are citizens of Denmark may secure a State loan to aid in the purchase of a small holding (2.7 to 10.9 acres) not to exceed 5,000 crowns ($1,340) in value; the total amount loanable, however, is only nine-tenths of above, the borrower being compelled to supply one-tenth of the purchase

89. *Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics*, No. 158, pp. 123-124.

price. The borrower pays interest at 3 per cent plus a payment on the principal to make a total payment of 4 per cent a year of the total sum loaned.

"The amounts appropriated under each act in each of the five-year periods to which the act applied are as follows: Act of 1899, $3,685,000; act of 1904, $4,020,000; act of 1909, $5,360,000; act of 1914 (3 years), $4,020,000.

"These laws have had very beneficial results. The total number of peasant proprietors who, by the assistance of the State fund, became owners of their properties from 1900 to March 31, 1914, was 7,117. The State has loaned in all approximately 33,634,000 crowns ($9,013,912). That the state has been successful in encouraging the younger farmers to establish themselves as owners is shown by the fact that 3,895 (71.6 per cent) of the 5,441 borrowers concerning whom information is available, up to 1911, were between the ages of 25 and 40, and 1,274 (23.4 per cent) were from 40 to 50 years of age. Over four-fifths (82.2 per cent) of the purchasers of properties were married. Day laborers made up 72.7 per cent, agricultural laborers and domestic servants 9.7 per cent, and other occupations not specified 17.6 per cent.

"The average size of holding purchased was 3.16 hectares (7.81 acres) under the law of 1899, but since 1904 there has been a gradual increase in the size of the farm purchased. Thus under the act of 1909 the average size was 4.22 hectares (10.42 acres).

"The total losses have amounted to only 10,000 crowns ($2,680)."

In the United States, the problem of tenancy is not so different from the problem in other countries as to warrant a weak or *laissez-faire* policy. Fundamentally, it is a rural problem. While there has also been a steady increase in tenancy among urban workers, the increase has been partly due to the persistent movement of the rural population toward industrial centers—that is, tenancy in the city is deemed preferable to tenancy and isolation in the country. The problem of checking this rural movement is, first of all, a problem of land credit. An effective land-purchase act would not only brighten the prospects of the agricultural laborer and the farm tenant, but, in so far as it succeeded in pro-

moting home ownership among the rural classes, would also lessen the pressure of population in industrial centers and strengthen the bargaining power of industrial workers.

Unfortunately, too little has been accomplished in this country toward making the conditions of rural life more attractive to the younger generation of farmers. It was with this end in view that the rural credit movement originated. But most of the land credit legislation enacted during the past three years for the benefit of the landless farmer is of an exceedingly doubtful character. It is based for the most part on a popular belief that the general increase in farm tenancy is to be attributed to a defective land credit system and that a material reduction in the rate of interest to *all* farmers would enable farm tenants to become their own masters.

The probable effect of such legislation on the tenancy problem seems entirely to have been overlooked. While it is undoubtedly true that the adoption of a land credit system providing for a low rate of interest and a longer term of loans repayable by amortization would enable a man of small means eventually to become a landowner, (true amortization as a method of repaying the principal literally compels the borrower to save) it does not follow that farms thus acquired would be farms of profitable size or that the percentage of farm tenancy would decline. After all, there is an intimate relation between the value of land and the current rate of interest. However strained that relation may become, the value of land is certain to rise in response to a reduction in the farmer's rate of interest. Indeed, there is abundant evidence that a lower rate would only add to the present speculative element in farm land investments. Recently, there have come to the attention of the writer a great many cases where prosperous farmers are incurring heavy mortgage indebtedness at fairly high interest rates and acquiring new land, in the belief that direct governmental aid will enable them ultimately to convert their interest charges to lower rates and to realize a speculative profit on the land thus acquired in advance. Manifestly, legislation which *promotes* the spirit of land speculation by promising higher land values tends not only to make it more difficult for a tenant to acquire in the course of his productive years a farm of the most profitable size, but also to encourage concentration in ownership, absentee landlordism,

and its concomitant, farm tenancy. In short, the effect of legislation which seeks to improve the prospects of tenants by reducing the rate of interest to all farmers may be to accentuate rather than to mitigate the problem.

If any reform measure is to succeed in reducing the percentage of farm tenancy in the United States merely by reducing the borrower's rate of interest, the lower rate must be accompanied by specific limitations on the borrowing power of present landowners. About the only way in which this could be accomplished without resorting to "class legislation" would be through the adoption of a program following out the fundamental principles embodied in the liberal land policy of the federal government. First of all, there should be, in any such scheme of reform, a careful limitation on the amount of long-term credit that could be extended to any one individual. Some attempts of this kind have already been made in current legislative measures. The Missouri law provides that individual loans shall not be in excess of $10,000, and that applications for loans under $5,000 shall be given administrative preference. The new Oklahoma law fixes the maximum loan at $2,000. But even this restriction seems liberal. Certainly, any larger grant would only encourage land purchasers to indulge in the same kind of speculative ventures that have characterized farm land investments for a number of years. Furthermore, an effective policy would provide that loans be made only for the purpose of *acquiring* land and on condition that the land acquired be cultivated by the owner as resident for a definite period of years or until the loan is repaid. These restrictions would virtually, but not technically, prohibit a utilization of the scheme by present landowners and private speculators. A reasonable relation might be maintained between the value of land and its productive capacity; and, with a lower rate of interest, the farm tenant of worthiness and ambition would have better prospects of becoming a landowner.

Whether the government should adopt the foregoing plan and make loans directly to landless farmers solely for the purpose of acquiring land, or should itself purchase large tracts of land—as is the practice of the British government in Ireland—for resale to tenants on easy terms of repayment, is a question that can be decided only in terms of the success of the various experiments as

they are now being conducted. It is probable that the former plan would be more feasible at the present time although perhaps not so effective as the latter. But until machinery has been devised that will make the landless classes the sole beneficiaries of government aid, such aid should be definitely withheld.

Thus far the only piece of American legislation really designed to promote ownership is the Oklahoma law of 1915. If no difficulty is experienced in floating the bonds, an almost inexhaustible fund will be available for Oklahoma tenants at a rate of interest well below the rate that is current in the state. Much permanent gain would result from the successful administration of the law. But, in the opinion of the writer, the problem of land-tenure reform is one of such magnitude as to be beyond the scope of state legislation. After all, state legislation on current problems is notoriously irregular and ineffective. Already the states have shown a disposition blindly to attack the land credit problem. In view of the complex nature of this problem and its intimate relation to the tenancy problem, a strong national policy seems desirable.

The federal government is in a much stronger position than any one state to carry through an effective program. It could market its bonds to better advantage, grant a lower rate of interest to the landless man, and apply a uniform remedy to a common problem. Furthermore, the federal government should have precedence in this field of legislation by virtue of a function it has assumed in the past. For many years it was a liberal donor of the public lands. Its policy made for ownership and democracy. Now that the supply of free land has been exhausted, a program involving special aid to the landless man would be a logical continuation of that policy.

Those who are opposed to this kind of government intervention need carefully to revise their understanding of the land-tenure problem. Eventually democracy will have its way and it would be better to attack the tenancy problem in its infancy than to adopt retributive measures later on. Approximate equality in opportunity rather than in possessions is the goal. Whether this means socialism or a compromise regime is immaterial. This much, however, is certain: to object to a well designed system of government aid to land purchase on the ground that it is unnecessary is to discredit the desirability of democracy; to condemn it as "socialistic" is equivalent to paying one's compliments to socialism.

CHAPTER VI

The Federal Farm Loan Act

The passage of a land credit measure by the federal government has at last been accomplished. On July 17, 1916, President Wilson approved the Federal Farm Loan bill,[90] thereby settling for a time a question that has given rise to no small amount of legislative interest. During the past four years repeated attempts have been made to discover a practical formula for constructive land credit legislation. The merits of various programs have been carefully estimated and discussed. Now that the mystery surrounding one of the problems of agricultural finance has been definitely cleared, and a program of reform finally adopted, it is expected that the long-term credit facilities of farmers will be improved in no less degree than the Federal Reserve Act improved the machinery for granting loans to the commercial classes. Incidentally, the new law marks the fulfilment of a party platform pledge, a pledge that was accepted and ardently supported by the President during his candidacy.

It would be beyond the scope of the present discussion to deal with any but the fundamental provisions of the new law. As a piece of legislation it is exceedingly complicated, and far more experimental than the Federal Reserve Act from which its inspiration was originally drawn. That measure was intended to reform a commercial banking system already in existence, while the Federal Farm Loan Act contemplates the establishment of an indefinite number of new institutions to supplement, if not to supplant, the numerous agencies now engaged in the business of making farm loans. Moreover, in recognition of the experimental nature of any one plan of reform, and in view of the conflicting notions as to which plan should be followed, provision is made for the employment of three distinct programs so that by one means if not by

90. For a chronological history of the bill see Sen. Doc. 500, 64 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 29.

another the law may succeed in accomplishing the definite purpose for which it was enacted.

In the first place, it provides for the creation of a Federal Farm Loan Bureau in the Department of the Treasury under the immediate supervision of a Federal Farm Loan Board consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury and four other members to be appointed by the President. As soon as practicable after the members of the Board have been appointed, they are authorized to divide the country into twelve districts, no one of which may contain a fractional part of any state, and to establish in each district a federal land bank having a capital stock of not less than $750,000. Shares will be issued in convenient denominations of $5, and may be purchased by individuals, firms, corporations, and the state or federal governments. In case any part of the required capital remains unsubscribed thirty days after the opening of the subscription books, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to subscribe for the balance. Provision is made, however, for the gradual retirement of the stock held by the United States as soon as subscriptions from other sources are found to be adequate.

Beneath this superstructure, the law contemplates the formation of national farm loan associations. These may be formed in any federal land bank district, subject to the approval of the Federal Farm Loan Board and the land bank directors, by ten or more natural persons who are the owners or are about to become the owners of land qualified as security for mortgage loans, and who desire loans in the aggregate of not less than $20,000. An association thus formed must invest 5 per cent of the amount of each loan in the stock of the federal land bank within its district. Its management will be in the hands of a board of five directors who together with all officers except the secretary-treasurer will serve without compensation unless the payment of salaries is approved by the Federal Farm Loan Board. Only borrowers can become members and while no limit is placed on the number of shares that one might own in an association, no more than twenty votes may be cast by a single shareholder.

After an association has received its charter from the Federal Farm Loan Board, it can make long-term loans within its district up to 50 per cent of the value of farm lands and 20 per cent of the value of improvements at a rate of interest, including commissions,

not to exceed 6 per cent. Such loans may be made only for the following purposes; (1) to provide for the purchase of land for agricultural purposes; (2) to provide "equipment" and "improvements" as defined by the Federal Farm Loan Board; and (3) to liquidate mortgage indebtedness existing at the time when the first national farm loan association is organized in or for the county containing the mortgaged land. The borrower is required to subscribe for stock in his association[91] up to 5 per cent of the amount of his loan, to cultivate the land offered as security, and to repay the principal in annual or semi-annual instalments. After a loan has been in force for a period of five years, additional payments of $25 or any multiple may be made toward the extinguishment of the principal on regular instalment dates. The longest term for which a loan may run is forty years and the size of individual loans may vary from $100 to $10,000.

On the security of the mortgages purchased from and indorsed by the national farm loan associations of its district, each land bank is empowered to issue an equal amount of farm loan bonds, bearing an interest rate not to exceed 5 per cent, up to twenty times its capital and surplus. These may be delivered to the association of which the borrower is a member or, at his option, they may be sold by the land bank for his benefit. In any case he pays the rate of interest borne by the bonds plus an administrative charge which can not exceed 1 per cent of the unpaid principal of his loan. In addition he will pay, as at present, the cost of appraising the land and perfecting the title, together with the legal fees imposed by his state for recording the mortgage, etc.

It is on the formation of national farm loan associations that the internal organization of the land banks is dependent. Until the stock subscriptions of the associations in a federal land bank district have amounted to $100,000, the officers and directors of the district land bank are to be appointed by the Federal Farm Loan Board. Thereafter, the board of directors will consist of nine members, six of whom, known as local directors, will be chosen by and be representative of national farm loan associations. The remaining three, known as district directors, will be appointed by the Federal Farm Loan Board to represent the public interest. No

91. Stock held by borrowers, as well as the federal land bank stock purchased by national farm loan associations, will be retired upon full payment of loans.

director in a federal land bank may have any official connection with any other institution engaged in the business of banking or in the negotiation of land-mortgage loans.

Some doubt was evidently in the minds of the framers of the law as to whether national farm loan associations would be immediately formed or, if formed, whether they would be sufficiently numerous to reach the great mass of borrowers. Since the land bank system is designed for and largely dependent on the formation of national farm loan associations, the failure on the part of borrowers to form the local organizations might defeat the purpose for which the land banks were established. In anticipation of this contingency the law provides that if within one year after its passage associations have not been formed in a given locality and are not likely to be formed, the Federal Farm Loan Board may in its discretion appoint banks, trust companies, mortgage companies, or savings institutions incorporated under state laws as agents through which federal land banks can make farm loans subject to the same conditions as if they were made through national farm loan associations. Such agents are empowered to negotiate mortgage loans so long as the aggregate of the unpaid principal of their outstanding loans does not exceed ten times their capital and surplus, or until the district in which they are authorized to operate is adequately served by national farm loan associations. In the meantime they will be held liable for the payment of the mortgages they have negotiated and will receive a small commission for their services.

In order to give further protection to the farm mortgage companies already in existence and to make room for private enterprise in the new system, a third possible source of land credit is contemplated. It is provided that any ten or more natural persons may form a joint-stock land bank, under a federal charter, with power to make land-mortgage loans and to issue farm loan bonds. Such banks must have a capital stock of at least $250,000. They can make mortgage loans and issue farm loan bonds under the same conditions and restrictions as imposed on federal land banks with the following exceptions: (1) the territory within which they may operate is limited to the state where the principal office is located and to some one contiguous state; (2) loans may be made on the security of farm land for any purpose and without restriction as to the amount to be loaned to a single borrower; (3) the

borrower is not required to purchase stock or to cultivate the mortgaged land; (4) the rate of interest received on loans or paid on bonds is not subject to alteration or review by the Federal Farm Loan Board; (5) the bonds of joint-stock land banks can be issued only up to fifteen times their capital and surplus; (6) the bonds must be readily distinguishable from the bonds of federal land banks.

The powers conferred upon the Federal Farm Loan Board in the administration of this intricate system are almost unlimited. In addition to those already indicated, the Board has the following important powers: (1) to exercise general supervisory authority over federal land banks, national farm loan associations, and joint-stock land banks; (2) to grant or refuse any specific issue of farm loan bonds; (3) to regulate the charges imposed on borrowers for appraisal, determination of title and recording; (4) to alter the rate of interest charged on loans by federal land banks so as to secure as much uniformity in rates as possible; (5) to require federal land banks to coöperate with one another in the payment of interest coupons on federal farm loan bonds; (6) to appoint land bank examiners, land bank appraisers, and a farm loan registrar for each federal land bank district and to fix their compensation; (7) to declare the mortgages on farm lands within a state to be ineligible as a basis for bond issues if after investigation it finds that the laws of that state afford insufficient protection to the holders of first mortgages.

An effort is made to give farm loan bonds a high standing as investment securities. Every series of bonds will be secured by a like amount of first mortgages[92] on farm lands. In the appraisement of land there is little opportunity for collusion. Before any mortgage loan is made by a joint-stock or federal land bank it must first have the approval of local appraisers and the special appraisers of the federal land bank district. Likewise, when a land bank applies for the privilege of issuing bonds, the application must be approved by the proper farm loan registrar with whom collateral security has been placed in trust. If, after investigation, the Federal Farm Loan Board finds the collateral unsatisfactory, it may reject the application or demand additional security.

In the case of bonds issued by federal land banks special security

92. United States bonds may be substituted.

is offered. The bonds of any one of these banks will be secured by the capital, reserves, and earnings of all the federal land banks and by mortgages previously indorsed by agents or by national farm loan associations within its district. Every mortgage so pledged will be further secured by the double liability assumed by borrowers on their stock.[93] And in the event that federal land banks are unable for a time to meet all claims arising on account of the payment of interest coupons and the redemption of bonds, they may rely upon federal assistance. That is, the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized, in his discretion, to deposit government funds with federal land banks and to charge a rate of interest not exceeding the rate current on other government deposits. The aggregate of all sums so deposited may not exceed $6,000,000 at any one time.

In other respects, the bonds of joint-stock and federal land banks will have similar security[94] and will enjoy similar privileges. All first mortgages executed to land banks and all farm loan bonds are to be regarded as "instrumentalities of the Government of the United States" and as such will be exempt from all federal, state, municipal, and local taxation. The same exemption applies to the capital, reserve, and surplus of federal land banks and national farm loan associations. Farm loan bonds will be lawful investments for all fiduciary and trust funds and may be accepted as security for all public deposits. They may also be purchased by member banks of the federal reserve system.

Finally, the law provides that the Secretary of the Treasury may designate any land bank, federal or joint-stock, as a depositary of public money, except receipts from customs, and as a financial agent of the government. This feature of the law is not, like that already referred to, intended to afford relief to land banks when temporarily embarrassed, for the deposits permitted under this section may not be invested in mortgage loans or farm loan bonds. It is merely a skillful manoeuver to aid in establishing the constitutionality of the law.

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93. The law is not clear as to whether those who borrow from agents of federal land banks will be held doubly liable on their stock. See sections 9 and 15.

94. One possible exception to this statement should be noted. While the law imposes double liability on all stock holders in joint-stock land banks, it makes no attempt to fix the same liability on shares of federal land bank stock purchased by the government or the public, presumably for the reason that these shares will be retired when the subscriptions of national farm loan associations have become sufficient to give the land banks their required capital.

In the evolution of this intricate program the knowledge of European practice has been a confusing element. From the very beginning the merits of coöperation as exemplified in the landschaft system received unanimous recognition. But in view of the individualistic nature of the American farmer the successful adaptation of the coöperative form appeared to be impossible. For this reason the United States Commission favored a system of joint-stock banks, patterned somewhat after the joint-stock mortgage banks of Germany, with the provision that they be organized along coöperative lines if desirable; while others, with a less dignified enthusiasm for reform, favored the more expeditious program of direct government loans.

The present law is obviously designed to reconcile these conflicting proposals. It is founded on the strong conviction that coöperation offers not only the most desirable remedy for the problem of agricultural finance but also one that is entirely feasible if supported by federal assistance. Accordingly, liberal aid is provided and the establishment of the federal land bank system is assured. Lest this preliminary organization fail to inspire the development of a coöperative spirit and the formation of national farm loan associations, federal land banks may still be utilized to make loans through existing institutions. Finally, the law endeavors to provide new machinery for the mobilization of land credit at the hands of private initiative. This portion of the law was not contained in the Hollis-Bulkley bill which formed the basis of the present measure. It was incorporated into the final draft of the Hollis bill as reported by the Joint Committee on Rural Credits only at the instance of those committee members who had served on the United States Commission.

Thus the Federal Farm Loan Act represents a drastic attempt to solve once and for all the farmer's land credit problem. Its specific purpose is of a three-fold nature; *i. e.*, to improve current methods of granting loans, to reduce the waste growing out of excessive administrative and commission charges, and, so far as possible, to equalize interest rates on land-mortgage loans. This is by no means a small program nor can the full effects of its operation be anticipated. Nevertheless, some of the possibilities inherent in the measure are worthy of careful inspection.

In the first place, the law rightly provides for a longer term of

loans and the repayment of the principal by amortization. This provision is in conformity with sound land credit principles. It will obviate a great deal of uncertainty as regards the farmer's rate of interest and will literally compel the borrower to save. The privilege accorded to borrowers of repaying the principal of their loans in annual as well as semi-annual instalments is also well taken for the reason that annual payments will be more convenient for those engaged in specialized farming. There is, however, one feature of the amortization plan that does not take account of the peculiarities of the American farmer, namely, the provision that no extra payment can be made toward the extinguishment of the principal until the loan has been in force for a period of five years. While there is some justification on administrative grounds for this restriction, it will undoubtedly deter a great many borrowers from liquidating present loans or from borrowing under long-term contracts. As a class, farmers are especially optimistic. They are accustomed to loans having a maturity of five years and not infrequently they expect to extinguish the whole of their principal before the expiration of that term. Rather than forego the liberal privileges of repayment now accorded by farm mortgage and life insurance companies, some borrowers will prefer to pay a slightly higher rate of interest.

Another feature of the proposed reform which is not likely to make a strong appeal to the average farmer is the requirement that before loans are granted by federal land banks, the borrower must subscribe for stock in a national farm loan association or, if he borrows through an appointed agent, in the federal land bank itself. Although he may arrange with the federal land bank to advance, as a part of his loan, the price of the stock subscription, the actual cost of appraisal and the determination of title, together with the legal fees and recording fees imposed by the state in which his land is located, his power to borrow on the security of land alone is limited in any case to 47½ per cent of its value, while his total liability on account of the ownership of stock may become 52½ per cent. If the experience of one of the so-called coöperative land credit companies now attempting to make loans in this manner in the Middle West may be taken as a reliable criterion, it will require no little effort to induce intelligent farmers to purchase stock, least of all to assume double liability on their shares.

Nor is the additional provision—that the commissions paid by federal land banks to agents or national farm loan associations be deducted from dividends on land bank stock—any material improvement over the present system so far as the actual method of granting loans is concerned. It is meant of course to prevent the payment of commissions in advance. But there are numerous sources from which borrowers can obtain loans up to 50 per cent of the value of cultivable land, and if the size or term of the loan is such as to call for the payment of a large commission, the agent will accept a second mortgage on the land in lieu of cash.

In the second place, no objection can be urged against the well meant purpose of the law in so far as it is designed to reduce the cost of borrowing by reducing administrative charges and by giving greater mobility to funds seeking farm mortgage investment. The present system of land credit is highly immobile. Owing to obnoxious state legislation, backward methods of farming, and the memory of the real estate collapse of the nineties, capital is still somewhat distrustful of land-mortgage security. Middlemen are everywhere required to direct a flow of capital to agricultural channels, and the machinery which they utilize to bring borrowers and lenders into contact with one another is altogether uneconomical and obsolete. This is especially true in the Southern and Western States where farmers are dependent on foreign capital. In North Dakota and Oklahoma, for instance, the average rate of interest received by one hundred and twenty-six American life insurance companies in 1914 amounted to 5.88 and 5.91 respectively.[95] According to a recent estimate by the federal Department of Agriculture, the average annual commission paid by borrowers in those states amounts to 1.8 per cent.[96] Such charges add materially to the borrower's rate of interest. In the Eastern States, the commission charge is a less important element in the cost of borrowing because of the large supply of local capital.

The device to be employed in mobilizing land credit to better advantage is the farm loan bond. In principle, bonds issued on the collective security of farm mortgages are well adapted to this purpose. They ought, as in European countries, to be the means of drawing capital from centers where it is now redundant to those

95. *Supra*, p. 31.
96. *Supra*, p. 33.

agricultural sections where the supply of local capital is inadequate. Moreover, within a given community they should make a large quantity of capital ordinarily diverted to other channels available for agricultural purposes. The only reason why such machinery has not been utilized more extensively in recent years by farm mortgage companies is because of the popular distrust manifested toward unregulated land-mortgage bond issues. Only a few of the strong companies whose reputation for integrity and conservatism is of the highest standing have been able to sell debenture bonds. Owing to the strict federal supervision that will be given to the land bank system, the difficulties that would otherwise be encountered in marketing land-mortgage bonds should be largely overcome.

The specific mechanism intended to reduce the administrative charge will vary in its effects according to the source of credit. In all cases the yearly charge for commission, which is included in the borrower's rate of interest, is limited to 1 per cent of the unpaid principal, and other charges made to borrowers on account of appraisal and the perfection of titles will be regulated by the Federal Farm Loan Board. When loans are granted by national farm loan associations or appointed agents of federal land banks, a commission charge of not more than one-half per cent may be retained by the institution making the loan. The remainder will contribute to the profits of the federal land bank and may be partly recovered by borrowers in the form of dividends on stock. The significance of this arrangement is that those who borrow through national farm loan associations will pay the lowest possible administrative cost. They will share not only in the profits of a federal land bank, in common with those who borrow from appointed agents, but also in the profits of the association to which they belong. Borrowers from joint-stock land banks will recover no portion of the administrative charge, unless of course they happen to be stockholders.

Manifestly the framers of the law cherished the hope that national farm loan associations would be immediately formed; and there is good reason to believe that many such associations will be organized in those communities where religious or communal bonds already exist. Others will undoubtedly follow as soon as the success of the initial organizations has been established. But too much should not be expected of these associations. Farmers as a class are not possessed of a coöperative spirit. They have not

yet reached the stage where they will care to have their personal affairs a matter of common knowledge. Nor has their time become so valueless that they can afford to devote it gratuitously to the organization and management of associations from which others will receive an equal benefit. Under these conditions it is not likely that the greater economies offered by the national farm loan association will be sufficiently attractive to *good* farmers to induce a majority of them to organize. Certainly, those who live in the newer sections of the country will prefer to borrow from agents of federal land banks or from institutions conducted solely for profit.

The position that joint-stock land banks will occupy in the new system is also a matter of some uncertainty. If formed, they should prove to be attractive sources of credit to those who prefer to deal with private institutions. Borrowers would not be obliged to purchase stock, to cultivate their mortgaged land, or to expend their loans for specific purposes. Nor would there be any restriction on the amount that might be loaned to a single individual. But in other respects the law imposes such onerous restrictions on the powers of these banks as to discourage their formation. Why, for instance, should they not be allowed to operate in more than two states if they can do so with profit? It is a basic principle with those institutions that are noted for their conservatism in making farm loans to operate over an extended territory. The Pearsons-Taft Land Credit Company of Chicago has loans outstanding in eighteen states.[97] The Union Central Life Insurance Company of Cincinnati has gradually extended its farm loan territory until it now operates in thirty-four states.[98] Considerations of safety demand widespread investments. Similar considerations would demand that an institution having the power to issue farm loan bonds be allowed to make land-mortgage loans in several states. It is obvious, therefore, that the rigid limitation on the investment field of joint-stock land banks will not only detract from the security of their bonds but it may also prevent the large farm mortgage companies now operating over a wide territory from reorganizing under a federal charter.

Another discomforting feature that will be prejudicial to the reorganization of farm mortgage companies is the requirement that

97. According to a personal letter from Oren E. Taft, president of the company.
98. *Annual Report*, Dec. 31, 1915, p. 5.

loans made by joint-stock land banks must be approved by the Federal Farm Loan Board before they can be pledged as security for farm loan bonds. In practice this restriction could have but one effect, namely, that as a matter of prudence joint-stock banks would not make loans until they had first been approved by the federal authorities. And in the meantime borrowers might seek the prompt service accorded by other agencies.

It is extremely unfortunate, if private enterprise is to play a prominent role in the new system, that more leniency was not shown toward the joint-stock land banks. In other countries they have been found to be well adapted to the mobilization of land credit, and, although their earnings are not excessive, capable of operating profitably in competition with coöperative and state aided ventures. These facts seem to have been appreciated only in part by the members of the Joint Committee on Rural Credits. For with a view to *equalizing* the profits that might be made by federal and joint-stock land banks they limited the bond issuing power of joint-stock banks to fifteen times their capital and surplus.[99] This action was in virtual recognition of the superior efficiency of private enterprise when given an equal opportunity. It is inconceivable why the opportunity should have been withheld.

A third purpose of the law is to mobilize land credit so effectually that interest rates on mortgage loans will be equalized. The equalization of these rates, varying from 5.3 per cent in New Hampshire to 9 and 10 per cent in the Southern and Western States[100] is expected to be a simple matter. Farm loan bonds will be well secured. Those issued by federal land banks will offer a number of attractive features not possessed by European land-mortgage bonds. To make certain that approximate uniformity in interest rates will be realized, the law fixes the maximum rate to be paid on bonds at 5 per cent and the highest rate, including commissions, to be paid by farmers at 6 per cent. As a precautionary provision, however, the limitation on interest rates is worse than useless. Either the high rates paid by farmers in the South and West will be reduced to conform to the legal maximum or investors will be unwilling to purchase the bonds of land banks operating in those

99. See *Report of the Joint Committee on Rural Credits*, House Doc. 494, 64 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 14.
100. *Supra*, p. 33.

sections. In view of the abundant security offered by the bonds of federal land banks the latter possibility seems doubtful.

The successful operation of the law, then, will result in the equalization of farm mortgage rates. Farmers in the South and West with inferior security[101] will be able to borrow on as favorable terms as the farmers who live in the older agricultural sections. The demand for a material reduction in the current rate of interest will have been fully met. But in responding to this ubiquitous demand, there appears to have been no justification for drastic action. While it is true that the farmer's rate of interest is higher than the rate paid by *some* industrial and commercial corporations, the vendors of such comparisons forget that farming as a business is highly individualistic and is likely to remain so. If the farmer's rate of interest is excessive it is not because it is higher than the rate paid by corporate enterprises or by European farmers but because it is so much higher than the rate received by the ultimate lender. The difference represents the cost of mobilizing land credit under a wasteful and badly organized system. A more economical organization rather than an approximate equalization of rates should have been the goal of remedial legislation.

Serious consequences may follow if the set purpose of the law is fully realized. A material reduction in the current rate of interest, unaccompanied by careful restrictions on borrowing power, is opposed to the welfare of the tenant farmer who aspires to land ownership. The potential effect of lower rates is to promote the spirit of land speculation, raise the value of land, and only further the movement toward concentration in ownership. These conditions, in turn, invariably breed farm tenancy and absentee landlordism. It is unfortunate that the present law takes so little account of such contingencies. It contains no definite restriction that will effectively prevent land speculation. Although the borrowers who depend upon the federal land bank system are required to engage in the cultivation of their mortgaged land and to expend their loans only for the most specific purposes, residence on the

101. Some would insist that their security is not inferior, on the ground that the land is actually better in many cases than land in Iowa, Illinois, and Southern Wisconsin. But this point of view fails to take any account of the purpose for which land is used. Crops are the sustaining element in farm loans. Where one-crop systems are in vogue land is highly speculative in value even though it is regularly cultivated. Until a more diversified culture has become prevalent in the South and West, farm lands in those sections will be inferior as security for mortgage loans no matter what system of land credit is adopted.

land is not made a condition of borrowing. Moreover, the maximum loan that can be granted to a single borrower seems much too large. It should at least have been limited to the amount necessary for the acquisition of a farm of profitable size—a farm that could be cultivated in a profitable manner by one operator. Finally, it should be remembered that not one of these restrictions is imposed on those who borrow from joint-stock land banks.

Perhaps a great deal will depend upon the course that is followed by the Federal Farm Loan Board in the interpretation of its powers as to whether or not the land bank system will prove positively harmful. The law is ambiguous and indefinite on a number of points. It is not clear, for instance, whether the Board has power to regulate the rate of interest paid on farm loan bonds.[102] But it does have power to refuse to authorize any specific issue and it might exercise that power tacitly on the ground that the rate borne by the bonds was too high or that the underlying mortgages represented loans made for speculative purposes. If, therefore, the Board places a liberal construction on its powers and, in coöperation with the land bank directors, rejects a large percentage of the applications for loans—as is the practice in New Zealand and Australia where systems of state loans are in force—the spirit of land speculation might be kept within present bounds. But the small borrower is the one who would suffer most from this policy because he is not usually possessed of unquestionable security. In either case the system would play into the hands of those landowners who are already prosperous.

On the whole the law is a badly disguised attempt to establish a system of government loans, under the cloak of coöperation, where government loans are not needed. It is essentially a land

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102. Section 16 provides that "joint stock land banks shall not be subject to the provisions of subsection (b) of section seventeen of this Act as to interest rates on mortgage loans or farm loan bonds". The subsection referred to gives the Federal Farm Loan Board power "to review and alter at its discretion the rate of interest to be charged by Federal land banks for loans made *by* [italics are the author's] them under the provisions of this Act, said rates to be uniform so far as practicable". Nothing is contained in this subsection relative to the interest rate on bonds of federal land banks. But subsection (f) of the same section gives the Board power "to prescribe the form and terms of farm loan bonds"; and section 20, dealing with the form of farm loan bonds, says "they shall have interest coupons attached, payable semi-annually, and shall be issued in series of not less than $50,000, the amount and terms to be fixed by the Federal Farm Loan Board". If by "terms" is meant the rate of interest, the law is contradictory. Such an interpretation would give the Federal Farm Loan Board power to regulate the rate of interest on bonds of joint-stock land banks, and section 16 would flatly deny that power. If the word "terms" is not meant to include the rate of interest, then a portion of section 16 is meaningless as it attempts to exempt joint-stock land banks from restrictions that are not imposed.

owner's measure and one that will prove to be cumbersome and needlessly expensive in its operation. Federal land bank stock owned by the government will not share in dividend distributions; members of the Federal Farm Loan Board will receive an annual salary of $10,000 together with all necessary traveling expenses; the salaries of the twelve farm loan registrars, the numerous land bank examiners, the attorneys, experts, assistants, clerks, laborers, and other employees required to conduct the business of the Board will likewise be paid by the tax payers. For the sake of simplicity and economy the problem of supplying landowners with adequate land credit facilities should have been left entirely to private initiative, subject in some measure to the same administrative authority that now supervises the national banking system. Or if a system of government loans was regarded as the only *desirable* solution of the land credit problem, the so-called McCumber amendment which passed the Senate in February, 1915, might well have received more serious consideration. Although defective both in principle and purpose, it at least offered a plan having the combined merits of simplicity, economy, and certainty. It would have utilized to better advantage the institutions already in existence and, if found to be ill-adapted or grossly defective, could easily have been abandoned.

After all, there was no necessity for any kind of federal legislation affecting the land credit problem of landowners. That problem is of a comparatively simple nature and rightly belonged within the province of state legislation. There is, however, the more pressing problem of land credit with which the federal government should have been deeply concerned, namely, the problem of making the conditions of country life more attractive to the *younger* generation of farmers. In accomplishing this end some form of land-purchase legislation is needed. In the long run no other course of action seems capable of checking the growth of tenancy and the depopulation of rural communities. Doubtless the framers of the present law were sincere in the belief that by applying one remedy to a two-fold problem these tendencies would be stayed. But in reality they seem only to have given a subsidy to present landowners, a subsidy that may aggravate rather than mitigate the problem of tenancy. It will now remain for the states to attack

this important problem, as they have attacked others, by applying unlike remedies to a common ill when uniform treatment should be administered.

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INDIAN POLICY AND WESTWARD EXPANSION

BY

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Assistant Professor of History
The University of Kansas

LAWRENCE, NOVEMBER, 1921

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JAMES C. MALIN

To the Memory
of
My Mother

PREFACE

This monograph is the outgrowth of a study of the life of David R. Atchison. Mr. Atchison was for some time chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs and the investigation of his activity on that committee led to a study of Indian policy in the Trans-Mississippi Valley and its relation to the westward movement. This latter problem, begun as a phase of Atchison's career in the Senate, developed into one that is larger and more significant than the original subject. The story here told is the history of the Indian policy up to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. It is written as concisely as possible to bring out the main thesis into clear relief.

This history of Indian policy is of decided importance in the general history of the United States in the pre-Civil War period, but is of special importance in any attempt to write the history of the West. The purchase and conquest, exploration, fur trade, Indian wars, the Pacific railroad project, the extension of the frontier, schemes for the civilization of the Indians, etc., are topics in Western history which are more or less unrelated in the form in which they have usually been treated. Indian policy and its relation to westward expansion now furnish a frame-work upon which the history of the Trans-Mississippi Valley before the Civil War may be written. The period is given a unity otherwise impossible and a foundation is laid upon which to base an interpretation. The fact stands out clearly that the early history of the Trans-Mississippi Valley is essentially the history of the relation between the Indian and the advancing frontier placed in proper perspective with all the other related problems. Thus, it becomes a distinctly new chapter in the history of the West.

The period since 1854 presents a markedly different aspect. The dominant theme in the earlier period is Indian policy, while in the latter it is the expansion of the frontier, the settlement of the Middle West. Here has been produced

a white civilization which has taken the place of the Indian. In the process of its evolution it grew with much greater rapidity than the Indian receded, until it has almost completely absorbed the remaining remnants of the Indians and their special problems. The result has been the creation of a new spirit, a new viewpoint or attitude of mind, something distinct in itself, which is recognized as "Middle West." I hope later to present the history of this phase of the Indian problem in another study.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Frank H. Hodder, who has been friend as well as teacher, and that, when friendship has been of more value than any instruction could have been. Professor Frank E. Melvin has made helpful criticism and suggestion. My wife has given invaluable aid in the revision and typing of the manuscript and in reading the proof.

JAMES C. MALIN.

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Indian Policy and Westward Expansion

Introduction

The question of the relation of the government to the Indian has been ever present throughout the course of American history. The frontier has been continually encroaching on the territory of the Indian, pushing him further and further west. With each step in the unfolding of this process new problems have had to be met and worked out. Sometimes the solutions have followed the lines of least resistance and sometimes they have followed definitely planned policy. The problems which presented themselves in the development of the Trans-Mississippi Valley have been of more than usual significance. This was because of the position of the territory in relation to the other states and territories, because of the critical time during which these problems arose and because of the character of the forces and interests demanding action. It is a new departure to approach the subject of Trans-Mississippi history from the standpoint of Indian policy, but it can be much better understood if approached in this way; that is, from the standpoint of the territory itself. From this vantage ground the play of outside forces can be watched as they press for solution of the problems, each of them interacting not only on the other, but also on the situation in the territory and the policy being developed there.

The Indian Country of the Trans-Mississippi Valley has occupied a peculiar position in American development. By the Indian Country is meant the country west of Arkansas, Missouri and Iowa, north of the Red River and extending as far westward as the Rocky Mountains. It was generally understood that this country was specifically set apart for the

habitation of the Indians, even though it crossed and blocked the natural lines of expansion to the Pacific. Of course this was not so important at the time the territory was set apart, but this had scarcely been done when the development of Oregon began, and then followed the annexation of Texas, the conquest and opening of California and the southwest. By this time its location had become a matter of decided significance. During the early period of Oregon settlement, the only route to the Pacific, lying wholly within our limits, was through this Indian Country. The growth of the Spanish trade to Santa Fé over the Santa Fé Trail was a contemporary movement and was carried on over routes which also ran through this territory. Then the acquisition of the Spanish southwest only served to increase the traffic over these routes, and make more necesary the framing of definite arrangements regarding the situation. It was an anomolous situation indeed for a nation to be virtually cut in half territorially by the existence of a considerable district set apart wholly for the occupation of Indians and from which all white men were excluded, except missionaries and traders who went in only by special permission. Such an Indian policy was diametrically opposed to the forces then tending to a more complete national development. The progress of these forces could not be stopped and the government Indian policy must eventually be adjusted to their demands.

The time during which these problems had to be solved added to the difficulty of the solution. During the earlier part of the period considered, the question of slavery and sectional rivalry had not become so acute and at that time had little influence on the situation. However, by the time of the annexation of Texas and the settlement of the Oregon question, sectional rivalry had become one of the dominant factors in any consideration of measures relating to westward expansion and even threatened to make impossible any solution of these problems. These difficulties could not but be reflected in the formulation and execution of Indian policy.

There are four factors that stand out conspicuously as de-

termining forces in dictating the final policy in the Indian Country. The first, in point of time, was the movement for the settlement of the Pacific Coast. Interest in Oregon developed earliest, but after the Mexican Cession in 1848 and the discovery of gold, interest in California superseded it. Second, the building of adequate lines of communication and transportation became of great importance. In the beginning the only method considered was by wagon roads, which must be built for emigrants, mail, express and freight. Later the railroad and telegraph were perfected and plans were made to utilize them in solving these problems. It was at just this time also that the American trade with the Orient was opened and it was hoped that the Pacific railroad would place the United States in a most advantageous position in respect to the development of that trade. Third, the westward expansion of population in the Trans-Mississippi Valley demanded the opening of more country to settlement. Lastly, the changes in living conditions of the Indians and the problems attending their civilization necessitated decided modifications in the policy pursued toward these people. The cumulative effect of these forces must ultimately bring about the organization of a territorial government for the Indian Country, in order to open it to white settlement and to make possible a continuous line of settled country through to the Pacific. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 marks the culmination of this movement, for it made possible the realization of the ends toward which these forces tended.

The complex character of the forces in process of evolution during the period from 1830 to 1854 brought about such great and unexpected expansion and consequent changes in the lines of internal organization that no single consistent policy could be followed throughout the whole period. This does not imply that there was a lack of attention or of policy on the part of the government. Strictly speaking, policies were formulated from time to time to fit the new conditions. Taking the period as a whole, the Indian policy develops through three phases. The first two phases cover the period

to about 1841, and as they are less permanent in character they will be treated briefly. The first phase is the removal of the Indians to the region west of the Mississippi River and the formulation of general principles of policy and administration. The second is the evolution of the plan of consolidating the Indians in the southwest of the Indian Country to allow for westward expansion of the white population across the northern part. The emphasis, however, will be placed on the latter part of the period, or third phase, when a new policy was worked out: one designed to allow the free development of the progressive factors just indicated. The purpose of this new policy was to group the Indian tribes to the north and to the south in the Indian Country in such a manner that they would not interfere with westward expansion in the country between the groups. The natural geographic lines of development, the Platte Valley and the South Pass, would be made available for the undisturbed pasage of the emigrant to the Pacific Coast, for the building of adequate means of transportation and communication to the Pacific, and for settlement by white men. This policy determined the relocation of several Indian tribes and simplified the problem of extinguishing the Indian title when this part of the Indian Country was finally organized in 1854.

PART ONE

The Consolidation of the Indians in the Southwest, 1830-40

GEOGRAPHY, EXPANSION, AND RELOCATION OF INDIANS

The geography of the United States has had the greatest effect on the determination of the lines of advance of the American frontier and its relation to the relocation of the Indians. After crossing the Appalachian Mountain Range from the east, the natural line of emigration was down the Tennessee and Ohio valleys. The original grouping of the Indian tribes into the northern and southern confederacies also favored this, for it was the line of least resistance between the groups. The advance of the white frontier may be likened to a wedge driven into the heart of the Indian Country. The point of this wedge pushed down the Ohio Valley, reaching the Mississippi River early in the century, and soon after began a period when this wedge spread northward and southward, crowding the Indians further and further apart, until about 1830 a policy of general removal of all tribes to the territory west of the Mississippi River was determined upon. While this process was going on east of the river, a second wedge was being driven up the valley of the Missouri River as far as the present western boundary of the state of Missouri. The spreading of this wedge was slower because it could not take place until the general removal from east of the Mississippi was pretty well carried out. But Missouri was the first of these states to be freed of Indians, this being effected by 1832.[1] Iowa was practically free by 1846.[2] The same process was being carried out in

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[1] Abel, *Indian Consolidation*. Report of the American Historical Association, 1906. Vol. 1, p. 395.

[2] Report of Indian Commissioner Medill, 1846. 2s. 29 C. Sen. doc. No. 1, pp. 217–219. Pub. doc. No. 493. Cardinal Goodwin, *The American Occupation of Iowa*. In the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XVII, pp. 83-103. *The Movement of American Settlers into Wisconsin and Minnesota*. Ibid. pp. 406–28.

the other western states as the pressure of population demanded. As these Indian tribes were removed from the eastern states, new locations had to be provided either by consolidation on reservations or by removal into the Indian Country to the west.

REMOVAL OF INDIANS WEST OF MISSISSIPPI: FIRST PHASE

It is not, however, the problem of Indian removal in itself that is of interest here, but the policy that was followed in the relocation of the Indians after they were removed to their new home west of the Mississippi River, and the program for their administration there. When the program of general removal was first considered, the plans for location were very vague. The most that can be said is that the Indians were to be sent to the far west beyond the Mississippi where they would never be disturbed again. Indeed the plans were so vague that the general act of 1830 providing for their removal does not indicate any particular place for their relocation, but leaves the choice to the discretion of the President. Section one of the act reads as follows:

> "That it shall and may be lawful for the President of the United States to cause so much of any territory belonging to the United States, west of the river Mississippi, not included in any state or organized territory, and to which the Indian title has been extinguished, as he may judge necessary, to be divided into a suitable number of districts, for the reception of such tribes or nations of Indians as may choose to exchange the lands where they now reside, and remove there; and to cause each of said districts to be described by natural or artificial marks, as to be easily distinguished from each other."[3]

The dominating idea was to move the Indian completely outside of the boundaries of all organized states and territories. Some Indian tribes had already been removed and others were to be removed as soon as arrangements could be completed.

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[3] 4 U. S. Statutes, pp. 411–12.

The plan of a general removal and consolidation of all tribes in one area placed the whole problem of Indian policy and Indian administration in an entirely new light. The government rather than the Indian had taken the initiative in the measures for consolidation. The responsibility was thus definitely placed on the government to formulate a program for handling Indian problems that would be active rather than passive, in order to make consolidation a success. Suggestions from various sources had been presented before the act of 1830 was passed and soon afterwards a quite definite program was announced. This program was the work of Lewis Cass, who was then Secretary of War, and appears in his annual report for the year 1831. These are what he calls the fundamental principles "which once adopted, would constitute the best foundation for our exertions, and the hopes of the Indians.":

1. "A solemn declaration, similar to that already inserted in some of the treaties, that the country assigned to the Indians shall be theirs as long as they or their descendants may occupy it, and a corresponding determination that our settlements shall not spread over it. . . .

2. "A determination to exclude all ardent spirits from their new territory. . . .

3. "The employment of an adequate force in their immediate vicinity, and a fixed determination to suppress, at all hazards, the slightest attempt at hostilities among themselves.

4. "Encouragement to the severalty of property, and such provision for its security, as their own regulations do not afford, and as may be necessary for its enjoyment.

5. "Assistance to all who may require it in opening farms, and in procuring domestic animals and instruments of agriculture.

6. "Leaving them in employment of their own institutions, as far as may be compatible with their own safety and ours, and with the great objects of their prosperity and improvement.

7. "The eventual employment of persons competent to instruct them, as far and as fast as their

> progress may require, and in such manner as may be most useful to them."[4]

The next step was to gather all the information possible regarding the country west of the Mississippi and the Indians inhabiting it. To accomplish this three commissioners, William Carroll, Montford Stokes, and Robert Vaux, were appointed in 1832 "to visit the several tribes west of the Mississippi, and to arrange the various interesting and unsettled questions arising out of the new relations, which the system of emigration has created." Their instructions were dated 14 July and were signed by Secretary Cass. These instructions show that Cass expected their report to be the foundation of a really constructive policy. They are as follows:

> "In the execution of the duty, respecting a plan for the government and security of the Indians, you will report in detail, all the information you can procure concerning their present and probable future condition, which can be useful in the determination of the questions of their government and intercourse. Your own judgment aided by such information as may be afforded you upon the spot, must guide you in your views of this matter. Its importance is apparent, as on its decision, may rest the future fate of all these tribes; and in the great change we are now urging them to make, it is desirable that all their political relations, as well among themselves as with us, should be established upon a permanent basis, beyond the necessity of any future alteration. Your report upon this branch of the subject will be laid before Congress, and will probably become the foundation of a system of legislation for these Indians."[5]

The report of this committee was submitted to Congress in 1834 and was used by the House Committee of Indian Affairs in drafting their legislative program.

It was in the year 1834 that the first complete legislative

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[4] Report of Sec. of War, H. doc. No. 2, 1s. 22C. p. 30. Pub. doc. No. 216. Report of Sec. of War for 1832 gives additional comment on policy contemplated for the new Indian Country. H. doc. No. 2. 2s. 22C. p. 23. Pub. doc. No. 233.

[5] Report of Sec. of War for 1832. H. doc. No. 2. 2s. 22C. pp. 32-37 Pub. doc. No. 233.

was presented to Congress for consideration. At that time Mr. Everett (Vt.), who was then chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, introduced three bills. The first provided for the organization of the Indian Department. The second was an Indian Intercourse bill. The third was a bill to provide for the organization of a Western (Indian) Territory.[6] This last bill will be considered here. It was planned to establish this Western Territory between the Red and Platte rivers west of Arkansas and Missouri. It was to be set aside for the exclusive use of the Indians in fulfillment of the law of 1830. The government of the new territory was to be under the direction of the President. The chief executive power was to be vested in a governor, but the real powers of government were to be left in the hands of the tribes. It was contemplated that a confederation of the tribes would be formed and a general council was provided for. In case of hostilities among the tribes, the Governor was given power tc suppress them with the aid of the Indian tribes or of the United States military power within program for the organization of Indian affairs in the west the Territory. Furthermore, the Territory was to be allowed a delegate on the floor of Congress, and eventually it might be admitted as a state in the Union. Mr. Everett stated his position frankly in the debate on the bill on 25 June. He said at that time, "The present policy of the government, in respect to the Indians, is to civilize them." This bill was defeated although its two companion bills were passed.[7] Such a plan as is here outlined would have carried out Cass's program of 1831 with remarkable completeness. Although there may have been serious defects in certain details, it would have been an epoch-making step in the evolution of American Indian policy.

The two bills that did pass will next be considered in relation to their contributions to the actual development of Indian policy. It must be admitted that this plan of pro-

[6] Cong. Debates. 1s. 23C. X. Pt. IV. p. 4200. Introduced 20 May. The report of the above Committee was appended to report of House Comm. of Indian Affairs on bill.

[7] Cong. Debates. 1s. 25C. Pt. IV. pp. 4763–4779.

cedure was not complete, but the promises of the Cass program were at least partially fulfilled. In 1834 and in succeeding years definite legislation was worked out on the subject.

Part of the first point insisted on the guarantee to the Indians forever of the territory on which they were to be relocated. The Act of 1830 had authorized the President to give this guarantee in the treaties of removal he might make with them, and in each instance it was observed. The other part of the first point regarding the encroachment of the whites on the Indian Country was at least partially fulfilled by section two of the Intercourse Act of 1834. It provided that no person should be admitted to the Indian Country except by license from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Indian agent, or sub-agent. Such license should be good for not more than two years in the country east of the Mississippi and three years west of that river.[8] This provision should not be construed to be in the nature of a perpetual guarantee of land title to the Indians. Rather it was in the nature of a legislative regulation for administrative purposes. Point two of the program was fully covered by sections twenty and twenty-one of the above act. They provided that no spirituous liquors should be sold in or taken into the Indian Country, except for the use of government officials under the direction of the War Department, and no distilleries should be set up in the Indian Country. Point three of the program was the problem of insuring peace in the Indian Country and adequately defending the western frontier. The plans for its execution were under consideration for several years. Various proposals were presented. The first was the report of the committee appointed in 1832 which was presented to Congress in 1834.[9] The bills providing for the organization of an Indian State also included plans, but the most elaborate and complete proposal was that of General Gaines.[10] The principal feature of these proposals was to build a definite line of forts from the Red

[8] 4 U. S. Statutes, pp. 729–35.
[9] See above, p. 18.
[10] H. doc. No. 311. 2s. 25C. 1838. Pub. doc. No. 329.

River extending northward into Minnesota, together with a system of military roads to connect them and to afford convenient and rapid transportation of troops and supplies.[11] None of these proposals were adopted as a unified plan of legislative action. However, the actual necessities of the situation did develop a fairly complete line of forts along the frontier; Fort Towson, Fort Smith, Fort Gibson, Fort Scott, Fort Atkinson, Fort Dodge, Fort Snelling, etc. The principal fort on the Oregon Trail was Fort Laramie and on the Santa Fé Trail, Fort Atkinson, located near what is now Dodge City, Kansas. Two special mounted regiments were raised to defend the frontier and finally in 1846 a bill was passed creating a regiment of mounted riflemen and providing for a line of military posts to defend the route to Oregon[12]. Point five was provided for in a limited way by the act of 1834 for the organization of the Indian Department by which authorization was given to furnish domestic animals and agricultural implements to the Indians west of the Mississippi River, but the value of such animals and implements furnished to those tribes was not to exceed $5000.[13] According to point six the Indians were to be allowed their own institutions so far as possible. This principle was recognized in practically all proposed legislation. The Intercourse Act of 1834 provided that in all disputes between white men and Indians concerning property the burden of proof must lie with the white man. The criminal law of the United States was extended over the Indian Country, but was not to apply to crimes between Indians.[14] The last point of the program was recognized in the act of 1834 for the organization of the Indian Department, and provided that blacksmiths, mechanics, and teachers, when employed under treaty stipulations, should be under the direction of the department.[15]

Another phase of the program on the part of the gov-

[11] The most accessible map illustrating one of these plans is given in Folio State Papers, Military Affairs, VII, p. 777.

[12] Act of 1832. 4 U. S. Statutes, pp. 533–35. Act of 1833. Ibid. p. 652. Act of 1844. 5 U. S. Statutes, p. 654. Act of 1846. 9 U. S. Statutes, 1846, ch. 22.

[13] 4 U. S. Statutes pp. 735–38.

[14] Ibid. pp. 729–35.

[15] Ibid. pp. 735–38.

ernment for handling the new situation was the reorganization of the Indian Department. Up to this time Indian affairs had been in the hands of a Chief Clerk of the Indian Office in the War Department. In 1832 the new office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs was created[16] Next, provision was made in an act of 28 June, 1834, to attach the Upper Missouri Territory to the Territory of Michigan for the purpose of temporary government. This included all the country west of the Mississippi River north of the State of Missouri and north and east of the Missouri and White Earth rivers.[17] A bill passed during the same year for the organization of the Indian Department provided that the duties of the Governor of Arkansas Territory as Indian Superintendent should cease. The same provision was also to apply to the Governor of Michigan Territory in the country west of Lake Michigan when that country should be organized into a territory. A new office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs was created, to be located at St. Louis, and was to have jurisdiction over the Indian Country west of the Mississippi River.[18] During the same year the Secretary of War issued new regulations under authority of this act which defined more definitely the boundaries of the new administrative divisions. There were to be three Indian Superintendents in the west. The Michigan Superintendency included all that territory with the addition of the Upper Missouri Territory as indicated above.[19] The St. Louis Superintendency included all the western territory between the Michigan Superintendency and the Santa Fé Trail. The Western Superintendency (acting) was to include all the remaining territory south of the St. Louis Superintendency.[20] Lastly, the Intercourse Act of 1834 gave the name of Indian Country to all the territory of the United States west of the Mississippi River (except Missouri, Louisiana, and Arkansas Territory) and also that part

[16] 4 U. S. Statutes p. 564.
[17] Ibid. p. 701.
[18] Ibid. pp. 735–38.
[19] Except the Prairie du Chien and Rock Island agencies, which belonged to the St. Louis Superintendency.
[20] Sen. doc. No. 1. 2s. 23C. p. 258. Pub. doc. No. 266.

east of the Mississippi not in any organized territory for the purpose of that act.[21]

CONSOLIDATION OF INDIANS IN SOUTHWEST: SECOND PHASE

In the preceding pages the first phase of the Indian policy, that is, the removal of the Indians west of the Mississippi and the formulation of the general principles of a policy for administration, has been summarized. Next will be considered the second phase, the selection of a definite location for the Indians and the removals to it.

Nothing in the foregoing statements indicates that there was any intention in the beginning of limiting the territory to be used for Indian locations to any particular section of the west. However, a general understanding was soon quite definitely established that the Indians should be located in the southwest. The Indian missionary Isaac McCoy writing in 1831 traces the development of thought along that line as follows:

> "Early in the progress of this business, a question arose as to the most eligible location for the settlement. Under the administration of Mr. Monroe, the territory between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi river was spoken of as a suitable place for, at least, a portion of the tribes. Since that time, the choice of public authority has become undivided, and has settled down upon the region west of the Arkansas Territory and west of the state of Missouri, as far north as the Missouri river, and upward on the southwest of that river, embracing a country about six hundred miles from south to north, and two hundred miles in width."[22]

The act of 1830 provided that the original Indian title must be extinguished in the territory west of the Mississippi before eastern Indians could be located there. This had already been done in most of the territory now included in the states of Oklahoma and Kansas, and by 1833 it was completed in the remaining territory as far north as the Little

[21] 4 U. S. Statutes p. 729

[22] Address to philanthropists in Washington, D. C. and quoted in Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, p. 432.

Nemaha and Platte rivers.[23] It was in this territory between the Red and the Platte rivers that the eastern Indians were to be relocated, and at no time before the opening of Kansas and Nebraska was the Indian title extinguished in any of the country to the north of this. This fact further limited the region which was considered as permanent Indian country. The northern limit as McCoy had indicated it in 1831 was the Missouri River, now it was the Platte.

The same act authorized the President to guarantee to the Indians and their heirs forever the lands assigned to them west of the Mississippi in exchange for lands held by them east of that river. Contrary to the usual assumption, there was no guarantee to the Indians on the part of the government of perpetual possession of the lands north of the Platte. Neither was there any such guarantee for the land south of that river, except for such lands as were used for relocation of Indians and definitely assigned to them by treaty under the act of 1830 and supplementary acts.

In his annual message for the year 1835, President Jackson gave definite recognition of the principle of consolidation in the southwest. It contains the following statement:

> "A country west of Missouri and Arkansas has been assigned to them, into which the white settlements are not to be pushed. No political communities can be formed in that extensive region, except those which are established by the Indians themselves or by the United States for them and with their concurrence. . . ."[24]

In connection with another project, the principle of limiting the Indian Country to the territory *south* of the Platte River was even more clearly planned. At various times schemes had been offered for creating an Indian State in the west.[25] One of these proposals is presented in the report of the three commissioners sent out by the Indian Department

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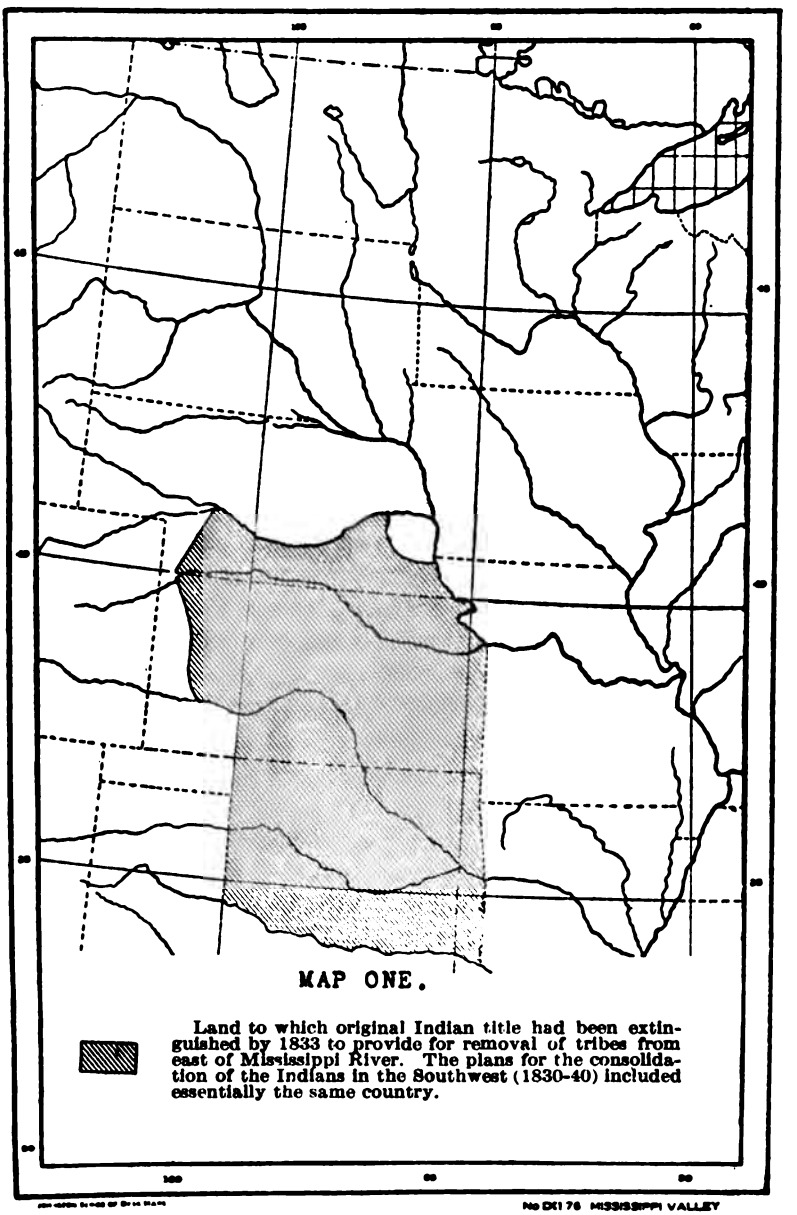
[23] Quapaw 1818, Great and Little Osages 1818, 1825, Kansas 1825, Oto and Missouri 1833, Pawnee confederated tribes 1833. See Royce, *Indian Cessions*, 18th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Pt. II.

[24] Messages and Papers of the Presidents, III, pp. 171–72.

[25] See Abel, *Proposals for an Indian State*. 1779-1878. In Annual Report of American Historical Association. 1907. I, pp. 87-104.



MAP ONE.

Land to which original Indian title had been extinguished by 1833 to provide for removal of tribes from east of Mississippi River. The plans for the consolidation of the Indians in the Southwest (1830-40) included essentially the same country.

in 1832 to investigate and make a report on the condition of the Indians and plans for the administration of the country.[26] This report was submitted to Congress in 1834 by Commissioner of Indian Affairs Elbert Herring and on this point proposed *to make the south bank of the Missouri and Platte rivers the northern boundary of the proposed territory.* These boundaries were incorporated in the bill presented on 20 May of that year by the House Committee on Indian Affairs and the report of the department committee was appended to their report on the bill to the House.[27] As this bill failed to pass, another of similar character was presented in 1836. In this second bill the northern boundary was extended northward as far as the Puncah River.[28] In its other features it was similar to the preceding bill. This bill also failed. The Indian Department, however, did not let the matter drop there, but presented the subject to as many tribes as possible during the summer of 1837 and received the assent of several.[29] In the next session another bill was presented from the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs by Tipton of Indiana.[30] This measure also provided for making the Puncah River the northern boundary of the Indian Territory, but it was explained that the only reason for including any country north of the Platte was to allow the Ottoes, Omahas, and Pawnees, who lived in that district, an opportunity to participate in the advantages of the new territory.[31]

The debate on this bill brought out some very interesting and significant information in regard to the forces supporting and opposing the measure and the motives directing the men who were interested in it. In the Senate, Mr. King of

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[26] See above, p. 19.

[27] See above, p. 19.

[28] Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs C. A. Harris. 1836. H. doc. No. 2. 2 Session, 24 Congress, p. 376. Pub. doc. No. 301. The Puncah River is now calldd Puncah Creek and is located between the Niobrara and White rivers.

[29] Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs C. A. Harris. 1837, 2 session. 25 Congress. Pub. doc. No. 314, and in debates in the Senate. Tipton's speech 18 April 1838. Appendix Congressional Globe. 2 session. 25 Congress pp.. 269-74. (Hereafter the following form will be used: C. G. 2s. 25C.) The tribes who assented were the Delawares, Shawnees, Kickapoos, Pottawatomies, Sauks of Missouri, Iowas, Weas. Piankashas, Peorias and Kaskaskias, Kansas and Ottawas.

C. G. 2s. 25C. p. 41. Introduced 20 December, 1837.

[31] Tipton's speeches. Appendix C. G. 2s. 25C. pp. 269-74, and C. G. 2s. 25C. p. 348.

Alabama offered an amendment to enlarge the proposed territory by adding to it all the country west of the Mississippi and north of the State of Missouri and the Missouri River and west as far as the Rocky Mountains, except land to which the Indian title had already been extinguished. Furthermore the faith of the United States was to be pledged by the act to guarantee to the Indians forever all the land in this territory granted to them.[32] Sevier of Arkansas favored the amendment chiefly for reasons based on sectionalism. He charged that the original bill was merely a plan on the part of the north to get more states in the northwest. Linn of Missouri and Lumpkin of Georgia opposed the amendment. Linn read extracts from a memorial of the Missouri Legislature in which they urged the formation of an Indian state along the lines of the original plan. Lumpkin attacked the amendment on account of the sectional character it gave to the whole measure. He pointed out that two thirds of the territory included in the original bill lay north of the line of 36° 30′ and as all the land south of that line was already taken up by Indians, no northern Indians could be moved south of it. The south could have no just complaint against the measure. The addition of all the country north to the international line would make the territory so vast that it would defeat the whole purpose of the bill. The original measure is similar to the proposal made by Calhoun in 1835. Why did Calhoun now withhold his support of the measure? Lumpkin said that for himself this measure was just what he had been advocating for the past ten years.[33] However, the main debates were led by King and Tipton. In defending his amendment, King insisted that the plan of the northern men was to crowd all the northern and southern Indians into the southwest to block the development of the south and to make possible the opening of the whole country north of the Missouri Compromise line to white settlement. Sevier was right in saying that it was merely a plan to get more states in the northwest. He regretted that his southern friends

[32] C. G. 2s. 25C. pp. 345-48.
[33] Ibid. pp. 340-45.

were so indifferent to the future. Then he asked Tipton a question. Would he oppose the amendment if he believed that there would be no more states formed in the northwest? Tipton insisted that the amendment would effectually check the growth not only of the northwest but of the nation, and in answer to King's last question he said: "To this, I answer in the affirmative. I have many friends and acquaintances in that country west of the Mississippi River, who desire to form a state at no distant day, and I wish to gratify them. Does the honorable senator expect to check the growing power of the Northwest? Sir, he might as well attempt. . . to stay the current of the Niagara, as to prevent the emigration of the industrious, intelligent and enterprising people from all parts of the United States to the Iowa Territory, west of the Mississippi."[34] When the amendment came to a vote it was defeated 11 to 22. The vote was for the most part sectional, the only votes cast for it coming from the southwestern and southeastern states.[35]

At the same time that the above bill was under discussion another measure of great importance to the development of the west was before both houses. On 6 February in the House and 14 March in the Senate bills were presented providing for the division of Wisconsin Territory and the establishment of "The Territory of Iowa." Consideration of the bills was delayed until June. In the debate Waddy Thompson of South Carolina attacked the measure. It was again a question of the balance of power between the northern and western and the southern states on the slavery question. He would not consent to these territories coming into the Union so long as the northern states opposed the annexation of Texas on the ground of slavery. However, the bill was passed and was approved 12 June, 1838.[36] This new Territory of Iowa included all the country between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers and north of the state of Missouri, in other words exactly the same country that King

[34] C. G. 2s. 25C. pp. 347-48.
[35] Yeas:—Merrick and Spence of Maryland, Roane of Virginia, Calhoun and Preston of South Carolina, Clay and King of Alabama, Mouton and Nicholas of Louisiana, and Sevier and Fulton of Arkansas. Nays:—Northern and border states and Georgia.
[36] C. G. 2s. 25C. pp. 239, 247, 424, 428, 131, 161, 5 U. S. Statutes pp. 235-41.

had insisted, in the debate of 27 April, must be included in the proposed Indian Territory, and the passage of the act creating the Territory of Iowa was precisely what he was trying to prevent by his amendment. The trend of westward expansion was clearly shown, and the attempt of the radical southern group to block it by creating out of the northwest a permanent Indian Territory was completely defeated.

The next question to consider in connection with the principle of consolidation in the southwest is the attitude of the Indian Department in planning the removal and relocation of individual tribes and the extent to which it was applied. Westward expansion brought about the addition of the Platte country to the state of Missouri in 1836. The Indians occupying this country had to be removed and the Secretary of War in 1836 reports that:

> "With a view to the extinguishment of the Indian title to the country between the State of Missouri and the Mississippi river, negotiations were opened with the tribes interested therein for the relinquishment of their rights; and treaties to that effect have already been concluded with the Iowas and Sacs of Missouri, Omahas, Yancton Sioux, and Ottawas and Missouris. Measures have also been taken for opening negotiations with the united nation of Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomies, for an *exchange of the lands north of the Missouri river* assigned to them by the treaty of Chicago of 1833, for *lands south of that river;* and with the Miamies, for a cession of their lands in Indiana."[37]

At the same time there was a movement to extinguish the title to the lands held by the Indians of western Iowa. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs reports that a Senate resolution

> "requested the President to propose to the Indians, parties to the treaty of Chicago, *an exchange of the lands north of the Missouri river;* assigned to them by that treaty, *for lands south of it.* As no appropriation was made for this object, and a part of the Indians had emigrated, a part were removing and a part were in Illinois, the instructions to the sub-

[37] H. doc. No. 2. 1s. 24C. p. 118. Pub. doc. No. 301. The italics are the author's.

agent merely directed him to seek interviews with them."[38]

In his report for the next year Commissioner Harris made a clear and definite statement on the subject of Indian relocation policy:

> The operations of the Department include "the removal of the Indians in New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, in the north, the west, and the northwest; and in Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and Florida, in the south and southwest, *to new homes southwest of the Missouri river.*"[39]

The Secretary of War, Poinsett, in the same year, reported that the Winnebagoes had agreed to remove to the "neutral ground"[40] but their sojourn there would probably be temporary as it was planned to remove them south of the Missouri River as soon as the country was sufficiently explored. He adds:

> "The interests of the country appear to require the existence of a line of frontier States between the Mississippi and the Missouri, and the extinguishment of the Indian title to all the land east of the Missouri, to the 43° of north lattitude, would effect that object."[41]

The result of such action would have opened to white settlement almost all of what is now Iowa as far west as the Missouri. This was not done immediately, but, as has been previously stated, Iowa was practically all opened by 1846.

In 1840, Indian Commissioner T. Hartley Crawford discussed the question of Indian removal in a larger way in his annual report and recommended the removal of even the most northerly tribes to the southwest. He considered it was necessary as the only solution of the continued Indian

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[38] H. doc. No. 2. 1s. 24C. p. 382. Pub. doc. No. 301. The removal of these Indians was delayed for some years and did not take place until 1846. The italics are the author's.

[39] Sen. doc. No. 1. 3s. 24C. p. 525. Pub. doc. No. 314. The italics are the author's. In his report for the removal of the Menominees of that territory to the country south of the Missouri River. Ibid. p. 563.

[40] Western Iowa.

[41] Sen. doc. No. 1. 2s. 24C. p. 184. Pub. doc. No. 314.

difficulties on the northwestern frontier. There was a tendency among the American Indians, as he pointed out, to cross the international line to the northward into Canada and the resulting complications were a continual source of friction with the British. The final solution of those difficulties would be a complete removal of the Indians from the northern country.[42]

The preceding statements show how consistently and clearly this second phase of the Indian policy was developed, and how definitely the principle of consolidation of the Indians in the southwest was recognized. In another part of the report for 1840 Commissioner Crawford predicted the developments that could be expected in the near future in the way of Indian removals and the opening of the new northwest to white settlement. He said:

> "It is sufficient at present to state, that the original title to the land to the southwest of the Missouri is extinguished as far north as the Little Nemaha river. There are located on it a large number of tribes; and there yet remain northeast of the Missouri and east of the Mississippi rivers, who will soon require a new home" several other tribes.... "The day is not distant, either, when the Sioux and other tribes will be asked to cede their lands.... All, probably, must soon emigrate."[43]

The lands referred to in the above quotation would include most of the country between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. The western part of it was occupied by the Sioux and Dakota Indians, the greater part of whose land lay west of the Mississippi. The white settlements were pushing up the upper Mississippi Valley and the Great Lake region, and up the northern bank of the Mississippi River from the state of Missouri.[44] They were also pushing across what is now the

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[42] Sen. doc. No. 1. ls. 27C. p. 242. Pub. doc. No. 375.

[43] Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1840. Sen. doc. No. 1. ls. 27C. p. 232. Pub. doc. No. 375. Another interesting and significant development in this region is the making of a survey and map of the Platte and Missouri Valleys by the War Department. The map included the country from 39° to 45° north latitude, and from 90° to 100° west longitude. The secretary urged in the report that the survey should be extended to the source of the Missouri River and then to the Pacific. Report of Secretary of War, 1840. Sen. doc. No. 1. ls. 27C. p. 24. Pub. doc. No. 375.

[44] The Platte purchase was added to the state of Missouri in 1836.

state of Iowa toward the north bank of the Missouri. That river was still the main route to the far west and the chief outlet for the fur trade of that region. Mr. Crawford shows in his report that he understood and appreciated the tendencies then operating in the westward extension of the frontier and the geographical lines along which it would progress under the influence of conditions as they then existed. The extinguishment of Indian title to the land was always a preliminary to the settlement of a new part of the country and this process was steadily and inevitably being realized. It was evident that this new northwest was soon to be settled by white men and divided into states. This would necessitate the removal and consolidation of the Indians in the southwest between the Platte and Red rivers. This principle of consolidation was recognized both by Congress and by the Indian Department and was thus being definitely and consistently developed to allow for the westward expansion of the white population across the northern part of the Indian Country toward the Rocky Mountains.

The principle of the consolidation of the Indians in the southwest has been traced step by step through the decade of the thirties to show how that principle crystallized into a clearly defined policy to provide for a permanent home for the Indians. The reasons and motives operating in determining the choice of that particular location were many and their action was often complex. Several of them are explained in a report of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs in 1836 accompanying the bill to supplement the Act of 1830 and providing for the establishment of an Indian Territory.[45] The report stated that it was a country well adapted to grazing and lay within the latitude to which the Indians were accustomed, but more important still was the fact that it was west of all white settlements and would probably not be surrounded by white population because the country beyond it was considered uninhabitable. In the words of the report: "With this uninhabitable region on the west of the Indian territory, they cannot be surrounded by white population.

[45] See above, p. 26.

They are on the outside of us, and in a place which will ever remain on the outside." As the rivers of this region flow eastward, they would direct such commerce as the Indian country possessed to the white settlements. Another consideration of importance in maintaining order was that the Indians located there could not escape westward for safety from punishment after depredations they might commit.[46] Still other reasons were brought out in the debates on the Indian Territory bills. Tipton pointed out the difficulties that had always arisen out of the contact of the northern tribes along the border with British influences. These would be effectively prevented only by removal and consolidation in the southwest. But probably the most important reason in determining that location was the influence of westward expansion which made necessary an outlet across the northern part of the country toward the mountains. Just at this time also, Senator Linn of Missouri was beginning his agitation in Congress for the recognition of the importance of Oregon and the encouragement and protection of its settlement by Americans. Thus by the opening of the northwest the demands of northern expansion would be satisfied. At the same time the first movement for the annexation of Texas was under way and its success would satisfy the demands of southern expansion. This situation created a balance of power between the northern and southern expansionist forces which throws into clear relief the stand which Waddy Thompson of South Carolina took in the House debates on the Iowa Territory bill in 1838. He would oppose northern expansion into the Indian Country of the northwest so long as the north opposed southern expansion to the southwest by preventing the annexation of Texas. As a result the problem of Indian location resolves itself into this; the Indians were to be limited to what was then the southwest because this was believed to be the only region where they would not block white expansion westward.

[46] Sen. doc. No. 246. 1s. 24C. p. 4. Pub. doc. No. 279.

PART TWO

Factors Contributing to the Revision of the Old Indian Policy

Westward expansion was the dominating factor in determining the development of the Indian Policy in the Trans-Mississippi Valley until about 1840. It exercised a decisive influence in the rearrangement and relocation of the Indians, and had brought about the formulation of the policy for their consolidation in the southwest. By 1840 this consolidation had been only partially completed, and after that date several new factors developed which were to modify completely this policy. It had been very satisfactory so long as it was merely a question of getting the Indians out of the way, of removing them "outside of us, and into a place which will ever remain on the outside." However, by 1848 this Indian Country was no longer "on the outside of us." It was in the very center of the nation. It was evident that the policy which had once been considered as permanent had now to be revised completely to fit the new conditions.

NATIONAL SELF-ASSERTION. 1840-1848. A TRANSITION PERIOD IN INDIAN POLICY

The period between 1840 and 1848 is one which is best characterized as a period of National Self-Assertion. In such a term lies its truest interpretation. The public attention was almost wholly occupied with the solution of foreign issues which were of the greatest moment to the nation; viz., the Oregon boundary, the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War and its resulting cessions of territory, and the establishment of commercial relations with China and other parts of the Orient. This focusing of attention on foreign questions was at the expense of the solution of purely domestic problems. Therefore, as in the case of other internal problems, there was little done toward evolv-

ing a constructive policy in Indian affairs to meet the new requirements. So far as Indian policy is concerned, it is a period of transition. Nevertheless, it is one which is vital to the whole problem, because in it lie the roots of the forces that were to bring about the revision of the old Indian policy and during it were laid the foundations on which this new policy was to be built.

The Oregon question was the first of a series of developments which brought out clearly and definitely the necessity of a change in the policy towards the whole of the Indian Country. The chief route to Oregon, which became known as the Oregon Trail, followed the Missouri River through Independence or St. Joseph and thence across that river to the Platte Valley and thence along the south side of the Platte to Fort Laramie and thence by way of the South Pass westward to the valley of the Columbia. The first American settlers had gone to Oregon in 1834. The stream of emigrants had increased slowly until 1843 when it assumed considerable proportions. As early as 1838, Lewis F. Linn, Senator from Missouri, advocated the establishment of stockades and military posts along the route for the protection of the emigrants. His first bill failed, but each year thereafter until his death in 1843 he put the question definitely before Congress in the form of a bill or resolution. His successor, David R. Atchison, immediately took up the agitation and he and Benton, with the aid of others, put through a bill in 1846 which provided for the establishment of a regiment of mounted riflemen and a line of military posts along the route to Oregon.[47] This was the same year that the Oregon boundary question was settled with Great Britain.

Another transcontinental route which was to have great influence on determining certain phases of Indian policy was the Santa Fé Trail. This became an important commercial route after the recognition of Mexican independence in 1822. Thomas H. Benton, the great champion of the west, took up the question almost immediately and was

[47] 9 U. S. Statutes, 1846, ch. 22.

able to secure the passage of a bill in 1825 providing for the appropriation of money to survey and mark the route and to purchase the right of transit from the Indians. The survey was made from Franklin, Missouri, to Taos, but the traders usually followed the more dangerous trail across the Cimmaron Desert. Negotiations were carried out with the Indians and a treaty was concluded with the Pawnees and Osages by which they agreed not to molest the caravans. The negotiations were unsuccessful with the Comanches. The traders were practically left to their own devices to provide for protection. However, the government did send out a military escort as far as the Arkansas Crossing on three different occasions, in 1829, 1834, and 1843. In 1843 the Governor of New Mexico sent an escort to the Arkansas to meet the traders and protect them on the remainder of their journey through Mexican territory. The growing importance of this Santa Fé trade, especially after the annexation of New Mexico, and the possibility of its use as a railroad route, made necessary the establishment of more definite relations with the tribes along this route.

While the Oregon agitation was going on in Congress, certain members of the Indian Office had been advocating a more effective means of meeting the difficulties created by the Oregon emigration. The Santa Fé Trail treaty was cited as precedent for action of a similar nature for the Oregon Trail. Thomas H. Harvey, Superintendent of the St. Louis District, in his annual report of 1845 urged that the government buy a right of way through the Indian country:

> "For the safety of the emigrants and the tranquility of the Indians, I would suggest that a right of way through such sections of the Indian country as may be deemed most convenient for laying out roads to Oregon be purchased from the Indians owning the country. This was done with the Osages and Kanzas, when laying out the road to Santa Fe. In that event the emigrants would be obliged strictly to confine themselves to the roads so purchased and laid out. With a view to carrying the foregoing into effect, I would respectfully recommend the es-

> tablishment of the following roads or routes; viz: one to cross the Missouri river at St. Joseph, which would pass through the Kickapoo, Iowa and Sac and Fox countries; another to cross the same river at Council Bluffs, and passing through the Potawatomie, Ottoe and Pawnee lands; and a third, from Westport, on the south side of the Missouri river, passing through the lands of the Shawnees, Delewares and Kanzas."[48]

His recommendation was not acted upon and the next year he repeated it, but this time instead of merely suggesting that a right of way be purchased, he called "the attention of the Department to the necessity of it."[49] This recommendation had no greater effect than the first. It would have been neither difficult nor expensive to have made this purchase, because the Indian title to most of the territory on the south side of the Platte River through which the main routes ran was already extinguished as far west as the mountains and only a narrow strip along the Missouri and Nemeha rivers had been regranted to eastern Indian tribes. The Pawnees, however, who were to have removed north of the Platte, still occupied the country south of that river owing to the pressure of the Sioux to the north of them as the government had not established sufficient military forces in the Indian Country to insure their safety on their own lands.[50]

The first attempts to organize Oregon Territory included or were contemporary with the first attempts to organize a part of the Indian Country. The existence of this close relation has been persistently overlooked. In the Senate, Atchison of Missouri introduced a bill on 19 December, 1844, for the organization of Oregon, which included the Indian Country, that is all the territory between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains, and in addition provided for stockades and forts to be built along the route to Oregon from the Missouri River by way of the South Pass to Oregon. At the same time Douglas, in the House, introduced

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[48] Sen. doc. No. 1. 1s. 29C. p. 536. Pub. doc. No. 470.
[49] Sen. doc. No. 1. 2s. 29C. p. 286. Pub. doc. No. 493.
[50] Ex. doc. No. 1. 2s. 30C. pp. 388–90. Pub. doc. 537.

a bill for the organization of Nebraska Territory. It defined the territory as the country between the parallels of thirty-eight and forty-three. However, these bills did not come up for consideration in either house.[51] But in the next session Douglas introduced a bill similar to the Atchison measure of the preceding year. This measure provided for the organization of a temporary government and included within the limits of Oregon the Indian Country west of the Missouri River between the parallels of forty and forty-three, and extended over it the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Iowa and the laws of that Territory.[52] The fact that these provisions affecting the Indian Country were included in the bills, whose purpose was to create a government for Oregon, indicated clearly that they were not designed primarily to organize the Indian Country, but rather to provide an outlet to the valley of the Columbia through organized country which was to be settled by white men. Also the fact should be emphasized that it was through this region, the valleys of the Missouri and the Platte rivers, that the best routes to the Pacific were to be found. Hence it was only natural that, with the enormous increase of migration westward and the pressure of the frontier settlements, this country should soon be opened to the pioneer, even though the annexation of Texas and the addition of the Mexican cession soon created a strong diversion toward the southern routes and expansion along them toward California. Douglas's own explanation of his early bills to organize Nebraska was that they were to serve notice on the Secretary of War not to locate any more Indians there. "In consequence of this notice, the Secretary (by courtesy) suspended his operations until Congress should have an opportunity of acting on the bill: and inasmuch as Congress failed to act at that session, Mr. Douglas renewed his bill and notice to the Secretary each year, and thus prevented

[51] Atchison bill. C. G. Appendix 2s. 28C. p. 44. Douglas bill, C. G. 2s. 28C. p. 41.

[52] C. G. 1s. 29C. p. 690. Parker's *Calendar of Papers in the Washington Archives relating to the Territories of the United States*, p. 319. Carnegie pub. No. 148. The original bill was introduced 9 Dec. 1845 to protect settlers until the end of joint occupation. Amended to provide a territorial government. It passed the House 18 April, 1846. Read in the Senate 20 April.

action for ten years, and until he could procure action on the bill."[53]

The effect of these bills on the Indian policy would have been revolutionary had they become law. It would have meant the abandonment of the policy of consolidation of the Indians in the southwest, and instead would have divided them into two groups, one north and one south of the newly organized or settled territory. The chief motive behind these bills was the opening of Pacific routes and this fact must be remembered in the consideration of subsequent development of Indian policy.

PERIOD OF INTERNAL EXPANSION AND READJUSTMENT, 1848-54-68. THE FOUR GREAT FACTORS

The period between 1840 and 1848 has been characterized as a period of national self-assertion. It brought in its train a multitude of new problems, especially in connection with the newly acquired territory, and those together with the growing bitterness of the slavery issue in the old states as well as in the new territory created a crisis which was the supreme test of American Nationality. The period from 1848 through the Civil War was one of internal expansion and readjustment and its problems had to be worked out in the face of ever increasing sectional rivalries and jealousies. The bitterness to which this sectionalism would go was not fully appreciated until the problem of organizing the new territory was taken up during and after the close of the Mexican War. The sudden and complete comprehension of the import of the situation made the great leaders hesitate, and in a spirit of conciliation, resulting from this new understanding, the compromise of 1850 was finally accepted, and all the recently acquired territory was organized. The Indian Country alone was without a government. It was now surrounded on all sides by organized states and territories and through it ran the routes connecting the east and the far west.

Next must be traced the development of the four great

[53] Cutts, *Constitutional and Party Questions*, pp. 89–91. The Congressional Globe does not record bills for Nebraska in 1846 or 1847.

factors which contributed to the revision of the Indian policy through this later period as far as the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. These factors are, first, westward expansion and the settlement of the Pacific Coast; second, the Pacific railroad movement; third, westward expansion and the organization of Nebraska; fourth, the changed living conditions and civilization of the Indians. In the discussion of each the aim is to indicate how it brought influence to bear on Indian policy which made revision necessary.

WESTWARD EXPANSION AND SETTLEMENT OF PACIFIC COAST

The movement for the settlement of the Pacific Coast lays the background and becomes the motive in a large measure for the development of the other three factors indicated. A brief statement of the earliest phases of the settlement has already been made. The first steady stream of emigration to the coast began to flow in 1843. It is estimated that about 1000 emigrants made the long overland journey in that year. This stream increased slowly each year, in spite of the uncertainty of the question of the boundary, the joint occupation, and the absence of a government or protection either in Oregon or *en route*. In 1846 the boundary question was satisfactorily settled with Great Britain. At that time the total population of the territory was reported at 10,000. In the spring of that year it is estimated that 2,500 people were gathered along the Indian frontier on the Missouri River at Council Bluffs, St. Joseph, Elizabethtown, and Independence. Approximately two-thirds of them were bound for Oregon and the remainder for California. The road was long and difficult, and by the time they reached Ft. Laramie some were obliged to sell or abandon their wagons and supplies and continue on horseback. Sickness of both emigrants and teams added to the hardship and discouragement of the journey.[54]

After 1848 the emigration to Oregon continued, although it did not have the incentive which attracted settlers to California. In that year the Territory of Oregon was or-

[54] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. VII, p. 432.

ganized. The settlements came to center largely in two regions. The first had been made in the Willamette Valley, on the south side of the Columbia River. This still remained the center of population in the southern part of the Territory. In the northern part of the Territory Puget Sound became the center of population and of economic development. The people of the north demanded a separate government and prepared a memorial asking that a division of the Territory be made. A bill was passed in March, 1853, which created the new Territory of Washington out of the country north of the Columbia River and the forty-sixth parallel.[55]

In 1848 the Pacific Coast became of most unexpected importance. Gold was discovered in California in January and before the year was out the news had spread to all parts of the east. Preparations were made during the winter of 1848-49 for the rush to California. The question of first importance immediately became the matter of routes. Generally speaking three possibilities presented themselves; the route by way of Cape Horn, the route across the Isthmus of Panama, and the route overland by way of the Platte River Valley and the South Pass. Of these the Cape Horn route was the safest. It was also the longest, but it was the one by which most of the commerce was carried on with the Pacific Coast. By the middle of March, 1849, over 12,000 gold seekers had left New York for California by that route. The route across the Isthmus of Panama was more difficult and dangerous but it had the advantage of being comparatively short. This route was literally swamped with emigrants. The overland route was the only one which had the advantage of lying within the territory of the United States. In the early spring of 1849, emigrants, wagons, and supplies collected along the Missouri River from Westport, Missouri, to Council Bluffs, Iowa. There they organized and waited for summer and sufficient grass to graze their animals during the journey. The streams from these divergent points united at or near Fort Kearny

[55] C. G. 2s. 32C. pp. 539–40, 554–55.

on the Platte River west of Grand Island. There a record was kept of the number of wagons that passed. By the end of June, when the emigration was practically over, there were 5,516 wagons recorded and it is estimated that 20,000 persons accompanied them. Hundreds of wagons turned back. Probably 2,000 emigrants had died of cholera. This was only the beginning of the journey, and across the wilderness many had to abandon part or all of their property. A traveler passing over the route writes that near Fort Laramie the prairie was strewn with provisions and wreckage and burned wagons left by the emigrants. In one place about 800 pounds of bacon were heaped in one pile. "Boxes, barrels, trunks, wagon wheels, whole wagon bodies, cooking utensils," and various implements were scattered along the trail, together with the carcasses of oxen. It was winter before the more belated emigrants reached their destination and then only with the aid of those at the other end of the trail. This was the California and Oregon Trail, the overland route to the Pacific.

Congress failed to provide a government for the Mexican Cession immediately after the close of the war. Polk sent General Riley to California with troops and orders from the War Department to take up the duties of civil government. With the encouragement of the President the Californians made a state constitution in September, 1849. It was adopted and the government organized. John C. Frémont and William M. Gwinn were elected senators. The state was admitted in the next year, as a part of the Compromise of 1850. Similar movements developed in Deseret, or Utah, and in New Mexico, but Congress merely created territorial governments for them.

The census of 1850 showed that California had a population of 122,000 and the emigrants poured into the country by the thousands during the year. Along the route they were required to register at Fort Laramie and the records show that 9,000 wagons carrying about 42,000 people had passed that point by the first of July, 1850.[56] The emigration

during 1851 and 1852 was near that of 1850, and the emigrants used every method of transportation for themselves and their small store of goods from well equipped freight wagons and ox teams to wheelbarrows and push-carts. Representative Hall of Missouri made the statement in the House on 10 February, 1853, in the debate on the Richardson bill to organize Nebraska, that the annual emigration to the Pacific Coast was fifty to sixty thousand, and these pioneers had to make the long, weary journey through wild Indian country where there was no government to give them aid or protection except such as was afforded by the small military forces stationed at the few forts along the route.[57] The territory from the Missouri River west to the Pacific Coast could never develop along natural lines and become a prosperous and contented part of a unified nation so long as it was cut off by the Indian Country and forced to work out its own destiny apart from the rest of the union. The integrity of nationality demanded that adequate communications and means of transportation be provided, that the country along these routes be settled and developed, and that the Indians be removed from that territory.[58]

WESTWARD EXPANSION AND PACIFIC RAILROAD MOVEMENT

The story of the Pacific railroad movement is one that is closely interwoven with the organization of the Indian Country and the consequent modification of the Indian policy. It must now be traced briefly in so far as it relates to these questions. Here also will be noticed the sectional rivalry between the north and south. The idea of a Pacific railroad had occurred to several men in the beginning of the period of railroad building, but in 1845 Asa Whitney placed the proposition before Congress by memorializing that body for

[56] M. O. to Major John Dougherty 1 July, 1850. *Dougherty MSS.;* Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis.

[57] C. G. 2s. 32C. pp. 558–60.

[58] The data for this section on the settlement of the Pacific Coast have been mostly taken from McMaster, *History of the People of the United States.* Volumes VII and VIII except where otherwise indicated. The interpretation is strictly the author's.

a grant of land along the route to aid in the building of the road. His original plan was to build by the northern route from the Great Lakes westward. In the early forties this would have been the natural route, because it was the line along which westward expansion seemed to be moving. Similar proposals were presented in 1846 and each year thereafter until 1854. The later routes proposed were the central routes, either by way of South Pass or Santa Fé, or the southern route by way of Fort Smith and Santa Fé, or lastly the far southern route by way of El Paso. All of these except the last would pass through the Indian Country, and the land grants made to build them would be grants of the Indian Country. The land so granted was to be sold to settlers who would develop the country along the route so as to support the railroad. Almost all of the members of Congress were in favor of the railroad, but they could not agree as to the method to be adopted for building it, nor as to the terminals of the road. But one thing was clear to all; that, whenever the road should be built, unless it went by the most southern route, the territorial organization of the country along the route would have to be completed.

Officials of the government were also interested in the railroad and were looking forward to its being built. Buchanan, when Secretary of State, wrote a letter to J. M. Shively, Deputy Postmaster at Astoria in Oregon Territory, dated 29 March, 1847, in which he predicted the building of railroads and telegraphs to the Pacific. He said:

> "Science has discovered, and enterprise is now fast establishing, means of intercommunication so rapid, that, at no distant day, a journey from New York to Oregon will be accomplished in less time than was once employed in traveling from that city to New Orleans, and important news will be communicated by telegraph with the velocity of lightning. Their foreign commerce with the west coast of America, with Asia, and the isles of the Pacific, will sail under the protection of our common flag

and cannot fail to bear back wealth in abundance to our shores."[59]

Two years later, the Secretary of the Interior, Thomas Ewing, in his annual report, commenting on the subject of the Pacific railroad, pointed out that the expansion of the eastern and the western lines of settlement would ultimately approach each other and thus fill up all the intervening territory.

> "It [California] has already a considerable commerce, which is constantly increasing, and must soon become extensive, not only with our own country and Europe, but with China, and the Pacific islands; including Japan, whose ports, it is believed, will be opened to the admission of its gold... [The Oregon commerce was also growing.] Some means of intercommunication across the continent, through our own territory, from the Atlantic to the Pacific—a road which can be passed over with reasonable speed and safety—is necessary to meet the wants of our citizens on either coast, *and is equally necessary to aid the government in controlling the Indian tribes of the intermediate country, and in protecting from their depredations our two lines of frontier settlements, which will now gradually approach each other. Opinion* as expressed and elicited by two large and respectable conventions, recently assembled at St. Louis and Memphis, *points to a railroad as that which will best meet and satisfy the wishes of our people.*"[60]

He then recommended that surveys be made to determine the best route for a road, and, in fact, money had been set aside in the army appropriation bill of 1849 for such surveys, but had not been used.[61] The next Secretary of the Interior, A. H. H. Stuart, made very similar comments in his report of the following year, but these recommendations also failed to bring results.

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[59] Ex. Doc. No. 1. 1s. 30C. p. 44. Pub. doc. 503.

[60] Sen. doc. No. 5. 1s. 31C. pp. 13–14. Pub. doc. No. 570. The italics are the author's.

[61] Haney, *Congressional History of Railways*. Pt. II. p. 55.

The rivalry between the north and the south over the question of routes for the Pacific railroad was intense. Their plans were more extensive than has been generally appreciated, and had a close relation to various proposals relating to Indian Affairs. On 30 September, 1850, Congress authorized the appointment of a special commission for the purpose of obtaining statistics and making treaties with various Indian tribes along the border of the United States and Mexico. The commission was composed of C. J. Todd, Robert B. Campbell, and Oliver Temple. Instructions were issued under the date of 15 October, 1850, and were written by Acting Commissioner A. S. Loughery. Behind the whole affair was a plan to secure territory, probably in west Texas, on which all the southern border tribes could be consolidated. This would remove all Indians from the southern boundary line, relieve the government of Indian border difficulties, open the country to settlement, and make possible the building of the Pacific railroad by the southern route. At the same time the government was engaged in surveying the boundary and the commission was to cooperate with the topographical engineers.[62] These plans do not all come out in the instructions but they are clearly set forth in the committee's report. They had conversations with Senator Rusk of Texas, one of the strongest of the southern railroad agitators, at New Orleans in November, and with Governor Bell at Austin, and sent reports of the conversations to the department together with other communications not mentioned in the report. The following extract from the printed report (1851) gives a full statement of the underlying motives of the expedition:

> "This system contemplates arrangements by which incursions into Mexico as well as Texas shall be restrained, *and the separate territory proposed to be secured in Texas lies north of the route usually travelled to El Paso and New Mexico. A boundary having this beneficial provision on the entire route*

[62] Instructions. Sen. doc. No. 1. 2s. 31C. p. 153. Pub. doc. No. 587.

to the Pacific, will therefore offer inducements to a cordon of settlements along the borders of the United States and Mexico, *which, with the military advantages of a railroad,* will supercede the necessity of a considerable expenditure in the establishment of military posts. *In this view of the subject we regard a railroad,* so far as its establishment may be within the provisions of the Constitution, contiguous to the line now in process of demarcation, and *extending to the Pacific,* as possessing eminent tendencies to fulfill our treaty stipulations, *one of the most important objects contemplated in our instructions.* Without any design to disparage the other routes to the Pacific, we may be permitted to speak of the great advantages which the climate and the topography on this route present to the construction of a railroad from sea to sea. The distance along the route of the Gila, enormously estimated at one thousand six hundred miles, is believed to be, in the opinion of competent officers of the topographical bureau, not more than twelve hundred; and along this route the depressions in the Rocky Mountains are preeminently advantageous for the construction of a railroad, while all the approaches through Texas to El Paso on the Rio Grande present the most inviting considerations for this great object.

"It is needless to expatiate upon the value of a railroad communicating across the continent within our own borders, whether we look at it in a commercial, political or military point of view. As a bond of union between the states on the Atlantic and Pacific, its importance cannot be exaggerated: and in event of a war with a maritime power, the facility which it would afford for the rapid transportation and sudden concentration of an armed force, will render our possessions on the Pacific as impregnable as the late war with Great Britain proved our invincibility along the Atlantic, Mississippi and lake coasts."[63]

In connection with the Richardson bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska, three years later, the rivalry over

[63] Sen. doc. No. 1. 1s. 31C. pp. 302–306. Pub. doc. No. 61. The italics are the author's.

these same routes is again clearly manifested, with its bearing on the Indian situation. In the debate of 10 February in the House Committee of the Whole, Mr. Howard of Texas led the opposition based on the argument that the Indian title to the land in Nebraska had not been extinguished. As the government had made special treaty guarantees to the Indians that this land would be theirs forever and that there would never be any organized white territory or state established over them, the Richardson bill would be a breach of faith which could not be tolerated. In order to allow the Indians sufficient land the southern boundary of the Nebraska territory should be made 39° 30′ instead of 36° 30′, north latitude. Mr. Hall of Missouri, who was one of the chief supporters of the bill, answered him. He ridiculed Howard's change of attitude toward the Indian and his sudden solicitude for his welfare, because it was always understood that "according to Texas morals and politics" the Indian had no rights whatever. He then made it plain that he considered that Howard's interests were not in the welfare of the Indians of Nebraska, but in an altogether different subject. His purpose and that of the state of Texas was to force the Indians out of that state in order that it might be settled and to drive them northward into Nebraska and prevent its organization and settlement. These additional wild Indians in Nebraska would make the central routes to the Pacific so dangerous that emigration to the coast would of necessity have to go by way of the southern route through Texas, and when the Pacific railroad should be built, it would also have to follow that route.[64]

The climax of the efforts of the southern group of railroad men to open their route came in 1853. The southern boundary of the Mexican cession as fixed by the treaty of peace in 1848 was designed to include the passes through the Rocky Mountains for a Pacific railroad well within the territory of the United States. The surveys of the boundary later showed that the best passes were on the Mexican side

[64] C. G. 2s. 32C. pp. 542-44. 556-58.

of the line, and by a second treaty with Mexico the Gadsden Purchase was made which secured the desired railroad route.

During this time two particular groups of men in Missouri had set about to build railroads as far as the Indian Country. The Hannibal-St. Joseph Railroad Company was incorporated by the act of 16 February, 1847. The company immediately made efforts to secure a land grant from the United States Government to aid in building the road. The memorial was drawn up by J. S. Green and W. P. Hall. It was stated that the road was to be "an outlet to our rich and valuable trade to Santa Fé and other Mexican towns, which trade [was] becoming daily more and more important, and would offer many facilities to those who were desirous of migrating to Oregon or the more distant provinces on the Pacific."[65] Senator Atchison of Missouri presented a bill for the land grants on 5 May, 1848, which was favorably reported from the Committee on Public Lands by Senator Breese of Illinois, but was not acted upon further.[66] On 3 January, 1850, Atchison introduced another bill for a land grant to the same road, which was passed by the Senate on 19 June, but was not considered by the House.[67] In the next session Shields, the chairman of the Senate Committee on Public Lands, introduced a bill for the same purpose. It was also passed by the Senate on 8 February, 1851, but again the House did not consider it.[68] In the House the same series of bills had been presented by W. P. Hall, Representative from Missouri, and in addition he had presented two memorials in 1850 in favor of building a Pacific railroad from St. Joseph, Missouri, his home city.[69]

In the meantime, the Hannibal-St. Joseph Railroad was working for state aid in Missouri, which was granted by the

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[65] Laws of Missouri. 1847. pp. 353-54. Quoted in Million, *State Aid to Railroads in Missouri*, p. 71.

[66] Sen. Jour. 1s. 30C. pp. 318. 397. A week later Douglas introduced a bill for a land grant for the state of Iowa for a railroad from the Mississippi to the Missouri River. Sen. Jour.. 1s. 30C. p. 333.

[67] Sen. Jour. 1s. 31C. pp. 51. 206. 410. A bill providing for a grant of land to the Davenport-Council Bluffs road in Iowa was presented by Felch 6 March. Ibid. p. 97.

[68] Sen. Jour. 1s. 31C. pp. 35. 38. 151, 157.

[69] House Jour. 1s. 31C. pp. 755. 880. Pub. doc. No. 566. It is also very important to note here that a year later Hall presented his first bill providing for the organization of Nebraska Territory. It is significant that he should be presenting these three subjects to the attention of Congress at the same time.

legislature on 22 February, 1851. When Congress met the next winter, another attempt was made to secure a land grant from the national government, which proved successful. Senator Atchison again introduced the measure, but it was amended in order to include another project upon which he had also been working.

The Pacific Railroad Company was incorporated by the state of Missouri 12 March, 1849, and was to follow the route from St. Joseph through Jefferson City to the west line of the state at some point in Cass County. The intention of the men behind this proposition was to build the road "with a view that the same may thereafter be continued westwardly to the Pacific Ocean."[70] This company also desired a grant of land from Congress, and drew up a memorial which was presented by Senator Atchison 27 February, 1850.[71] In the next session he presented a bill for the same purpose which was passed by the Senate but not by the House.[72] In the winter of 1851-52 the bill was introduced by Senator Geyer of Missouri but was not considered. However, the Hannibal-St. Joseph bill, before mentioned, was passed with an amended title which included both roads. This act was approved 10 June, 1852.[73] A special session of the state legislature was called to accept the grant and distribute the land to the companies, but the distribution was delayed until the following regular session. The Pacific Company was authorized on 25 December, 1852, to build a southwest branch, which was finally run to Springfield, Missouri.[74] Soon afterward an act was passed which granted the company the right *"to construct and operate its road to any point or points west of the boundary of the state of Missouri."*[75]

Both of these ventures were represented in Congress by two men, Atchison in the Senate and Hall in the House, who were leaders in the movement to organize a territorial gov-

[70] The charter is printed in Sen. Misc. doc. No. 59. 1s. 31C. pp. 3-7. Pub. doc. No. 563.
[71] Ibid. pp. 1-3.
[72] Sen. Jour. 2s. 31C. pp. 47. 57. 160. 208.
[73] Sen. Jour. 1s. 32C. Text of Act. 10 U. S. Statutes. p. 8.
[74] Million. *State Aid to Railroads in Missouri*, pp. 68. 75. 85.
[75] Ibid. p. 81. The italics are the author's.

ernment in the Indian Country. Senator Atchison was also chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs for some time and managed the business of the Indian Department in the Senate, especially the Laramie Treaty which opened up the central route to the Pacific through the western Indian Country. The two roads just considered have been chosen as illustrations, because of the men supporting them and because they were roads which were not only projected, but had received both state and national aid and were actually in process of construction. Furthermore it was clearly planned for both of them to be built to the Pacific through the Indian Country.[76]

WESTWARD EXPANSION AND ORGANIZATION OF NEBRASKA 1848-52

After 1848 emigration across the Indian Country increased by leaps and bounds. The road to California was traversed by thousands of Americans going to seek homes or gold in the territories of the Pacific Coast. They were therefore especially interested in a safe route to the Pacific through organized territory. At the same time the pioneers had been banking up against the eastern frontier of the Indian Country and many were looking forward with a great deal of interest to the day when the Indians would be forced out of that country and the whole region opened up to settlement. On 20 December, 1849, a memorial from the Legislature of the State of Missouri asked for the organization of the country west of that state.[77]

The interest of Stephen A. Douglas in the organization of the Nebraska country in the preceding period has been discussed in connection with the organization of the Oregon country. In 1848, Douglas came forward with another bill providing for the organization of Nebraska.[78] As proposed in this bill, the territory was to include the country between

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[76] The project of the Douglas group are probably of more importance in the history of the Pacific railroad, but that story has been told in Hodder's *Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.* In the proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1912. The connection between the schemes of Douglas and the Missouri group will be discussed in the next section, on the organization of Nebraska.

[77] C. G. 1s. 30C. p. 56.

[78] Ibid. p. 467.

40° and 43° north latitude, from the Missouri River west to the Rocky Mountains.[79] The bill, however, failed to receive consideration at this time. The proposal was premature so far as immediate accomplishment was concerned, but the movement in favor of early organization was steadily growing.

A very keen analysis of the situation as it existed at the time was made by Father De Smet, the noted missionary to the Indians of the west. The following is taken from a letter written in 1851:

> "The same lot that the Indians east of the Mississippi have experienced, will at no distant day overtake those who dwell on the west of the same river. As the white population advances and penetrates into the interior, the aborigines will gradually withdraw. Already, even, it is perceptible that the whites look with a covetous eye on the fertile lands of the Delawares,[80] Potawatomies, Shawnees,[81] and others on our frontiers, and project the organization of a new Territory—Nebraska. I should not be surprised if, in a few years, negotiations were entered upon for the purchase of those lands, and the removal of those Indians who will be forced to retire farther west. The great openings offered to emigration by the definitive arrangement of the Oregon Question, as well as the acquisition of New Mexico, California and Utah, have alone, thus far, hindered any efforts for extinguishing the Indian titles or rights to the lands situated immediately west of the State of Missouri, and those situated on the south side of the river Missouri, between the rivers Kansas and Platte, and probably as high as the Nebraska or L'Eau qui court."[82]

Father De Smet's comments are very significant. He had read the situation aright, only the movement, which he predicted, came sooner than he had anticipated. The government seems to have gone so far as to consider the survey of the Indian Country in 1851 with a view to the organization of

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[79] Watkins, *History of Nebraska*, Vol. I. p. 135.
[80] Territory on the north side of the Kansas River.
[81] Land immediately south of the Kansas River.
[82] De Smet, *Life and Letters*, Edited by Chittenden and Richardson. Vol. III. pp. 1201-03.

the territory, for J. Butterfield, Commissioner of the General Land Office, reported to the Secretary of the Interior, A. H. H. Stuart, that:

> "the establishment of a territorial government for the Platte river or Nebraska country, west of the Missouri river, and between the state of Iowa and the eastern spurs of the Rocky Mountains, would have to precede the extension of our surveying system over any bodies of country that may be acquired from the Indians in that region."[83]

The next step in the movement to organize the Indian Country was the introduction of a bill in the House for that purpose by Representative Hall of Missouri in 1851.[84] This was followed in the next year by one in which he named the proposed territory, the "Territory of the Platte.[85] However, neither of these bills received consideration. Nevertheless the issue of the organization of Nebraska was joined during this session of 1852-53 on the bill presented by Representative Richardson of Illinois, Chairman of the House Committee on Territories. At that time there seems to have been more than one element in the legislative program of the northwestern group in the House. Three measures were associated in their minds which should be worked out in conjunction with each other. They were the division of Oregon into two territories under the names of Oregon and Columbia, the organization of Nebraska, and the building of a road from the frontiers to the coast. This is the program outlined by Shields of Illinois on 8 February, 1853, when the two bills for organization of territories came up for consideration in the Committee of the Whole. Richardson made a motion to take up the Nebraska bill first, as it was the desire of the Committee on Territories to take them up in that order, but when objection was made he gave way. The Territory of Columbia bill was then considered, amended to

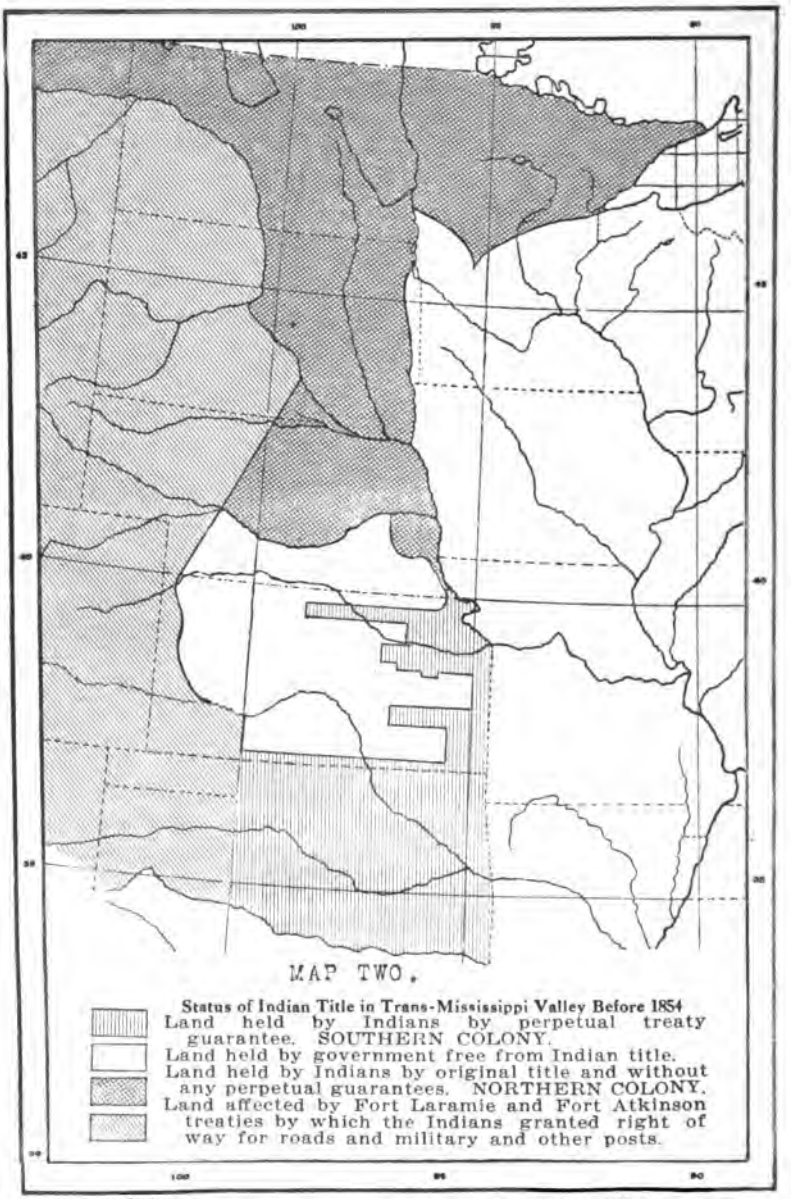
[83] Sen. doc. No. 1. 1s. 32C. p. 17. Pub. doc. No. 613.
[84] C. G. 1s. 32C. pt. 1. p. 80.
[85] C. G. 2s. 32C. p. 47.

change the name to Washington, and passed on 10 February.[86]

Richardson's Nebraska bill was considered in Committee of the Whole on the same day as the Territory of Columbia bill. The proposed boundaries of the Territory were 36° 30′ on the south, and 43° on the north, and included all the country between the Missouri and the Rocky Mountains. The debate on the bill was almost altogether along three lines; the absence of white population, the question of Indian title, and the building of a Pacific railroad. The last two questions are very closely connected in many respects and it is difficult to draw the line between the arguments based on a sincere interest in the Indian and those arising out of the selfish interests and the rivalry over the Pacific railroad routes.

All the territory included within the boundaries fixed by the Richardson bill was occupied by Indians and the intercourse act of 1834 prohibited white men access to the country. It was therefore impossible for white men to settle there. However, the intercourse act did not give the Indians a perpetual guarantee to all the territory defined as Indian Country for the purpose of the administration of the act. In this Indian Country there were three different kinds of lands. First, those to which the original Indian title had been extinguished and which had been regranted by treaty in perpetuity to Indians removed from east of the Mississippi River under the provisions of the Act of 1830. Furthermore, these Indians were never to be included within any organized state or territory without their own consent. They constituted a comparatively narrow strip along the western border of Missouri. Second, those to which the original Indian title had been extinguished, but which had never been regranted to any other Indians. The title, therefore, belonged to the United States Government, although Indians occupied or hunted over all of what is now central and western Kansas and Nebraska south of the Platte River. Lastly, lands for which the original Indian title had never been ex-

[86] C. G. 28. 32C. pp. 539-40, 554-55. Passed Senate 2 March.



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tinguished, and no treaty guarantee had been made to the Indians to whom the title belonged. These included lands north of the Platte River, also a small district south of the Platte and just west of the Missouri River, and the lands of the prairie and mountain tribes of the far west; Colorado, Wyoming, etc.[87]

The objections to the Richardson bill based on the Indian question centered on three points; the perpetual treaty guarantee of title, the guarantee that they would not be included in any organized state or territory, and the argument that if Nebraska were organized with the boundaries as fixed in the bill, the Indians would not be left enough land to support them.[88] Howard of Texas insisted that the south boundary should not be 36° 30′ but 39° 30′. This would leave the Indians sufficient room, but he did not explain that it would also leave the central routes to the Pacific in the Indian Country just as before. Hall of Missouri led the defense. He ridiculed Howard's sudden interest in the welfare of the Indians. He was not aware that the gentleman from Texas had changed his policy toward them, and his constituents were to be congratulated on the change in their representative. It had always been understood that "according to Texas politics and morals, the Indians had no rights whatever." He then pointed out that the bill provided that the treaties with the Indians should not be violated and that they should not be included in the new territory without their own consent. Provisions were also made for negotiations with the Indian tribes for the extinguishment of their title in a regular way. He then showed that Mr. Howard was not interested in the Indians in Nebraska at all. It was the purpose of Mr. Howard and the state of Texas to force the Indians out of Texas so that their territory could be settled and developed. The Indians thus driven out would be forced northward into the Nebraska country and in that way prevent the organization and settlement of Nebraska. The presence of so large a body of wild Indians in that country

[87] See above, pp. 20 and 24.
[88] See above, p. 49.

would make the overland routes to the Pacific so dangerous that emigration would of necessity have to avoid the Indian Country and pass through Texas and furthermore when the railroad should be built, it would have to take the southern route.[89]

Mr. Hall seems to have been the only speaker who understood, in its larger aspect, what the opening of the Nebraska country would mean in its relation to the Indian policy of the government. The organization of Nebraska and the removal of the Indians would be a complete revolution in the Indian policy followed for twenty years. The consolidation of the Indians in the southwest would have to be abandoned and a complete regrouping would have to take place.

Before the time at which the Richardson bill was being considered in Congress the two propositions, the organization of Nebraska and the construction of the Pacific railroad by the central route, had been definitely and openly linked together. Probably the first time they were so publicly linked as measures for practical and immediate accomplishment was in a speech made by Thomas H. Benton at Jackson, Missouri, on 30 October, 1852.[90] However, the connection had been well understood for some time by the groups of men interested in these and other railroads and in the organization of the Nebraska Territory. The close connection is also brought out very forcibly by the Atchison-Benton campaign for the senatorship in Missouri during the summer of 1853 and the following winter. Both of the principals in the contest recognized that the organization of the Nebraska Territory was necessary before the railroad could be built by the central route to the Pacific.[91] In fact the two measures were counterparts of each other.

When it comes to the analysis of the debate on the Richardson bill it is clear that the really fundamental objection was the rivalry over the routes for the Pacific railroad. It is clear that the bill was sponsored by the Douglas group in

[89] C. G. 2s. 32C. pp. 542-44. 556-58.
[90] Ray, *Repeal of the Missouri Compromise.* p. 75.
[91] Ibid.

Congress, a group which was definitely pledged to the railroad idea.[92] Richardson of Illinois was chairman of the Committee on Territories in the House, and Douglas himself was Chairman of the Committee on Territories in the Senate. They were in coalition with the members from Missouri, Hall in the House and Atchison in the Senate, who were also pledged to the railroad idea. The importance of this coalition has not been sufficiently appreciated. Atchison had secured the land grants to two Missouri railroad companies whose purpose was to build to the Pacific and he was now supporting the Nebraska bill. Hall had presented the same series of land grant bills in the House, memorials for the building of a Pacific railroad from St. Joseph, Missouri, and two bills for the organization of Nebraska.[93] Now he was taking the leading part in the defense of the Richardson bill in the House. His speech in the Committee of the Whole on 10 February, 1853, in which he developed his reasons for the organization of Nebraska, is sufficiently comprehensive and important to warrant quotation even at the risk of a measure of tediousness:

> "The gentleman from Texas [Mr. Howard] entirely misapprehends the reasons upon which the organization of Nebraska rests. He states, that Nebraska Territory comprises three hundred and forty thousand square miles of land, and that only some four or five hundred people reside in the Territory; and he says that the wants of the people do not require a territorial organization. *We do not want this bill merely to protect the inhabitants of Nebraska; we want it for other equally important purposes.*
>
> "I wish the gentleman from Texas would turn to the map of the United States, and look at the situation of Nebraska.
>
> "I wish the gentleman would also look at the situation of Oregon, California and Utah. An immense wilderness of one thousand miles in extent separates the people of this side of the continent

[92] Hodder. *Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.* Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society. 1912.
[93] See above, pp. 50-51.

from those occupying the territory bordering on the Pacific Ocean. How are Oregon and California to be protected in time of war if this great wilderness is forever to remain without settlement? It appears to me to be a self-evident truth —one about which there cannot be two opinions —that if California and Oregon are to remain portions of this Union, you must extend your lines of settlement from the Missouri river to the summits of the Rocky Mountains, and continue the farms, the village, and city of the white man from ocean to ocean. How is your commerce carried on with California and Oregon? It is carried on by way of Cape Horn, or across the Isthmus of Panama. And how do your emigrants reach those settlements? They have to pass through the immense wilderness west of the State of Missouri, exposed to all kinds of disease, the inclemency of the weather, and the attacks of savage Indians. There is no house on this great line of travel in which a sick man can take refuge, or a helpless woman seek shelter from the storm; and yet the gentleman says, because we have a treaty with a few Indian tribes which stipulates that their territory shall not be included within any territorial government, that neither now nor thereafter can we protect that extensive overland route.

"*We want to organize the Territory of Nebraska then not merely for the protection of a few people who reside there, but also for the protection of Oregon and California in time of war, and the protection of our commerce, and the fifty or sixty thousand emigrants who annually cross the plains.* These emigrants have now no protection, and murder and crimes of various kinds, are committed among them which are not and can not be punished under existing laws. Establish a territorial government and judicial tribunals there, and protection will be afforded them.

* * * *

"The crowd of emigrants, to which I have adverted, every year violates to a greater or less extent the rights of the Indians. They destroy their timber, and spread the cholera, small-pox, and measles, and other contagious diseases among them. They subject them to innumerable annoy-

> ances; and *you cannot protect these Indians from encroachments on their rights unless you do what I have no doubt the State of Texas would wish were done; establish a decree that no man shall pass through that Territory at all,* either in going to or returning from California and Oregon, *or remove these Indians off the great highways to the Pacific coast and settle them as far as possible from the emigrants who now pass through their country in crowds.* Establish the Territory of Nebraska, place its government under the direction of men of character, supported by the laws of the country, and, if necessary, by military force. Do that, and in some degree you may expect to secure these Indians from disturbance."[94]

He then quotes from the reports of Commissioner of Indian Affairs Medill and Superintendent Mitchell in which they advocate the removal of the Indians of the Platte Valley and the opening of the country along the routes to Oregon and California. Continuing he says:

> "I will never go for a bill to violate a treaty with any Indians, or anybody else. But, says the gentleman, this will change our entire Indian policy. Yes, sir, it will. Does the gentleman know that since the Act of 1834 was passed, the condition of the country has been totally changed? In 1834, Oregon was not settled, and I suppose a majority of the people of the United States thought it would never be settled. Since that time we have acquired a great and powerful State on the coast of the Pacific, and we have acquired New Mexico, too, but under the Indian intercourse act, that immense country which intervenes between Missouri and the summit of the Rocky mountains is made a wilderness, and we are cut off from the great coast of the Pacific. *I appeal to the gentlemen of this committee if that change of the circumstances of the country does not imperatively demand a change in the Indian policy of the country? Why, everybody is talking about a Railroad to the Pacific ocean. In the name of God, how is the railroad to be made if you will never let people live on the lands through which*

[94] The italics are the author's.

the road passes? Are you going to construct a road through the Indian Territory, at the expense of $200,000,000, and say no one shall live upon the land through which it passes?

"But this territory is too extensive, says the gentleman from Texas. I admit that it is extensive. It extends from the forty-third parallel of north latitude to the parallel of 36° 30′ north latitude, and from the Missouri river to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. *It has to be thus extended, in order to embrace the great line of travel to Oregon, New Mexico and California. The South Pass is in latitude 42° 30′, and hence the territory has to extend to the forty-third degree of north latitude.*

"The reason why this bill fixes 36° 30′ as the southern boundary of Nebraska is, because the road from Missouri to New Mexico crosses the line of 36° 30′, and therefore you have to run down to that line to protect that great travel. That is the reason why the boundaries are so extensive.

"As to the Indian intercourse act and that policy I regret that it ever was established. It appears to me that those who at that day represented the State which I now represent, did not go quite as far into futurity as they might have done, and as the interests of the people of my section of the country required. I regret that it is the case, but having been established, I wish to do nothing that will interfere with any treaties that may have been made whilst that policy prevailed. In my opinion, however, this bill is sufficiently guarded to protect the rights of the Indian tribes. If it is not so, then I beg the gentleman to devise amendments calculated to protect the Indians, and I will vote for them; but do not raise the objections to the bill and then make no effort to relieve it from the weight of those objections."[95]

Later in the debate Richardson spoke in support of the bill and the burden of his defense was to make possible the natural westward expansion and the opening of the routes to the Pacific:

[95] C. G. 2s. 32C. pp. 558-60. The italics are the author's.

> "Gentlemen have stated that the population of this territory amounts to only six or eight hundred people. Probably it does not amount to more than that. The settlement of that territory has been prevented for six or seven years by the Indian intercourse act and the policy pursued by this government. But there are today, upon the borders of Missouri five, ten or fifteen thousand *people waiting for you to give them permission to settle in the Territory*, and to relieve the Government from the expense of the military force that you keep there. Five thousand settlers would do more to protect the line of travel to Oregon, California and New Mexico, and all the interests you have in the Proposed Territory, than all the troops in your regular Army.
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> * * * *
>
> "He [Howard] is opposed to all bills which create territorial governments. *He is willing to treat with these Indians*, to go through that slow process, *and in the meantime all the great objects of the establishment of a territorial government will be lost, and emigration to the Pacific will be driven to another portion of the Union, from the route which it now follows.* He wants time, but *the great interests of our western people demand the passage of this bill, and demand it now. . . .*"[96]

Two amendments were adopted to obviate all possible objections based on the Indian question. The first presented by Clingman (N.C.) provided specifically that certain Indian tribes be not included in the Territory without their own consent. The second transferred the duties of superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Territory from the Superintendent at St. Louis to the Governor of the proposed Territory. In this form the bill passed the House on 10 February, 1853, by a vote of 98 to 43. An analysis of the vote shows it to be almost altogether sectional. Thirty of the forty-three votes against the bill coming from the south, and eighty of the ninety-eight for the bill coming from the north.[97]

In the Senate the contest was more critical as the opposi-

[96] C. G. 2s. 32C. pp. 651-63. The italics are the author's.
[97] Ibid.

tion was stronger owing to the more equal representation of north and south in the upper house. The objections made were very similar and here the Douglas-Missouri coalition becomes even more significant. Atchison of Missouri was Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs and was chosen President *pro tem* 20 December, 1852, and presided during the session. For the reason that he was presiding officer he kept almost silent on all matters under discussion, speaking on only two bills; first an Indian appropriation bill on which, as Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, he had special information and interest; the other the Richardson bill. On 3 March, 1853, he spoke with considerable reservation.

> "Perhaps," he said, "there is no state so much interested in the organization of Nebraska Territory as Missouri. If not the largest, I will say, the best portion of that territory, perhaps the only portion of it that in half a century will become a state, lies immediately west of the State of Missouri. It is only a question of time whether we will organize the territory at this session of Congress, or whether we will do it at the next session; and for my part I acknowledge now, *as the Senator from Illinois* [Douglas] *well knows*, when I came to this city at the beginning of the last session, I was perhaps as much opposed to the proposition as the Senator from Texas [Rusk] now is. *The Senator from Iowa* [Jones or Dodge] *knows it; and it was for reasons which I will not mention or suggest. But, sir, I have upon reflection and investigation in my own mind and from the opinion of others—my constituents whose opinions I am bound to respect,—come to the conclusion that now is the time for the organization of this Territory.* It is the most propitious time."[98]

It was the last day of the session; the last hope that the bill would pass. It needed the support of every friend. The opposition to consideration of the bill continued and Atchison

[98] C. G. 2s. 32C. p. 1111. The italics are the author's. A meeting at Parkville, Missouri, in the spring of 1852 declared in favor of the organization of the Territory of Nebraska. Atchison presented the proceedings of the meeting and they were referred to the Committee on Territories. Local sentiment in the west, independent of political considerations, demanded the organization of Nebraska.

spoke again, this time with less reserve. Before, he had refused to give his reasons for his earlier opposition; now he gave them:

> "One was, that the Indian title had not been extinguished, or at least only a small portion of it had been. Another was the Missouri Compromise, or, as it is commonly called, the slavery restriction. . . . Whether that law was in accordance with the Constitution of the United States or not, it would do its work, and that work would be to preclude slaveholders from going into that territory. But when I came to look into the question, I found that there was no prospect, no hope of a repeal of the Missouri Compromise, excluding slavery from that territory. Now, sir, I am free to admit at this moment, at this hour and for all time to come, I should oppose the organization and settlement of that territory unless my constituents and the constituents of the whole South, of the slave states of the Union, could go into it on the same footing, with equal rights and privileges, carrying their species of property with them as other people of the Union. Yes, sir, I acknowledge that that would have governed me, but I have no hope that the restriction will ever be repealed. . . .
>
> "So far as that great question is concerned, we ought as well agree to the admission of this Territory now as next year or five or ten years hence."[99]

His speech explained why he had objected to the organization earlier, but it did not explain fully what influence had brought about this change in opinion. There was a purpose behind this bill important enough to outweigh his objections based on the slavery restriction of the Missouri Compromise. He admitted that the Senator from Illinois and the Senator from Iowa knew well his reasons for earlier opposition and implied that they also knew his reasons for a change of opinion.

Senator Bell of Tennessee, who was an important member of the opposition, asked Douglas to explain his meaning in urging the bill:

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[99] C. G. 2s. 32C. p. 1113.

"I know the Senator from Illinois sufficiently well to know that when he makes a proposition of this description, it has a meaning; and he does not merely mean to fill up space, and pass the time until the present session of Congress has passed away. What he does is pregnant with significance; and if the honorable Senator from Illinois is disposed to tell his meaning, I am perfectly willing to hear him."[100]

Douglas took up the challenge. He stated plainly:

"I have tried to get it through for eight long years, ... It is an act that is very dear to my heart, one that I should be glad to discuss in all its bearings. It is one of immense magnitude and grave importance to the country.

"The object of the bill is to create a territorial government extending from the western boundary of Missouri and Iowa to Utah and Oregon. In other words, it is to form a line of territorial governments extending from the Mississippi valley to the Pacific Ocean, so that we can have continuous settlements from one to the other. *We can not expect or hope even, to maintain our Pacific possessions unless they can be connected in feeling and interest and communication with the Atlantic states. This can only be done by continuous lines of settlements,* and those settlements can only be formed where the laws will furnish protection to those who settle upon and cultivate the soil. *The proposed Territory of Nebraska embraces quite a number of the emigrant routes extending to our Pacific possessions.* It embraces the route from Missouri to Santa Fé: and also to Utah, Oregon and California. . . . Sir, what have we done for these Pacific possessions? *What have we done to bind them to us? When a proposition was brought forward here to establish a railroad connection, it met with determined resistance. The project was crushed and destroyed."*[101]

Douglas's first bill for the organization of Nebraska had been introduced in December, 1844, and at the same time Atchison had introduced a bill for the organization of Oregon

[100] C. G. 2s. 32C. p. 1115.
[101] Ibid. p. 1116. The italics are the author's.

which had included Nebraska. Atchison's interest in Nebraska therefore had been of as long standing as that of Douglas.[102] At that time the slavery question had not been so large a factor in territorial organization. Atchison's attitude at that time was more national than sectional as it had come to be later.

Douglas and Atchison had both been working since 1848 to secure grants of land from Congress to build railroads from the Mississippi River to the Indian Country. Douglas's efforts had been directed to the building of a road which would connect Chicago with the Missouri River at some point in Iowa. Atchison had secured grants of land in 1852 to build two roads, one from Hannibal to St. Joseph, Missouri, and the other from St. Louis to the west line of the state.[103] It was the purpose to extend each of these roads eventually to the Pacific, therefore both Douglas and Atchison were vitally interested in the organization of Nebraska, and in order for Douglas to carry his measure he had won Atchison over to the support of his bill, even though Atchison had had to sacrifice the slavery interests of Missouri to do so.

Atchison gives further evidence of the purpose of this bill in a series of speeches beginning at Weston, Missouri, 6 June, 1853, just three months after the above discussion in Congress, in answer to Benton's charges that he was opposed both to the organization of Nebraska and the construction of the Pacific railroad. In his defense he cited the land grants which he had secured for railroads during the preceding session:

> "The land obtained by these measures will assist in the construction of two roads from the Mississippi, both pointing to the Pacific, either of them long links in the chain yet to be constructed. Who will not admit that the land grants thus obtained will facilitate, expedite and certainly insure, the speedy completion of the Hannibal-St. Joseph railroad, the Pacific railroad from St. Louis to Kansas, as well as the southwestern branch of the same, terminating in a section of the state rich in re-

[102] See above, p. 38.
[103] See above, pp. 50-51.

> sources hitherto undeveloped. Missouri will occupy the enviable position of being able to offer the United States three frontier starting points for the Pacific railroad, which offer cannot be made by any other state in the Union. . . . In obtaining these grants of land, the first link toward connecting by railroad the valley of the Mississippi with the Pacific, was heated, formed and welded, and if ever the connection is made (and I doubt not it will be) and either of the points upon our western border be made the starting point, it will be because this link has been made. . . . I am in favor of the construction of such a railroad by the General Government for that purpose. I will vote to appropriate land and money. *I believe it absolutely necessary for the integrity of the Union.* As to where it shall commence or where it shall end, that is a matter to be determined when the surveys and operations in progress shall be completed, and the route it must take between the termini is absolutely dependent upon these surveys. . . . My opinion is that the matter of termini and the route of the road will of necessity be left to the discretion of the President."[104]

During the summer of 1853 Atchison's attitude toward the slavery question, as related to the organization of the Nebraska Territory, underwent a radical change. On returning to Missouri after the close of the session in which the Richardson bill had been under discussion, he was drawn into a political contest with Benton. His term was drawing to a close and Benton was determined to secure his seat. The Legislature elected in the fall of 1854 would select his successor. Benton began his campaign in May, 1853, making the Central Pacific railroad and the organization of the Nebraska Territory the key notes of the campaign, charging Atchison with opposition to both of these measures. Atchison made his first speech in answer at Weston, Missouri, 6 June, 1853. In this speech he avowed his support of both measures and cited his record in Congress, but he said a bill for the organization of Nebraska must not contain "any restrictions

[104] Quoted in Ray, *Repeal of the Missouri Compromise*, pp. 78-80. The italics are the author's.

upon the subject of slavery.... I will vote for a bill that leaves the slaveholder and the non-slaveholder upon terms of equality. I am willing that the people who may settle there and who have the deepest interests in this question should decide it for themselves."[105] To carry this policy into effect would be to repeal the Missouri Compromise. This was a complete change of attitude and it must be recognized in whatever influence Atchison may have had in shaping the Kansas-Nebraska Act of the succeeding session.

The fact that the Indian title in Nebraska had not been extinguished proved a stumbling block in the way of the passage of the Richardson bill to organize the Territory. The bill had been defeated, but another had been passed which authorized the President to negotiate with the Indian tribes west of Missouri and Iowa for the purpose of extinguishing the Indian title to all or part of that country.[106] If this could be done immediately that important element in the opposition to the bill would be removed. So great a task was not to be easily accomplished and when the question of Nebraska was opened in the next session the work was still incomplete.

The people on the border were very much excited about the proposed organization of the Indian Country and some went over into the territory to explore and make locations. Of course the opposition made the most of it. Reports came out through the press "that a constant current of emigration is flowing into the Indian Country." This campaign of opposition assumed such proportions that Manypenny, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, took occasion to comment upon it in his annual report of 1853. He said:

> "Some have explored the country, but all, as far as my information extends, have returned to await the action of the executive department in making treaties, and the necessary legislation for the organization of the territory.... On the 11th of October, the day on which I left the frontier, there was no settlement made in any part of Nebraska."[107]

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[105] Quoted in Ray, *Repeal of the Missouri Compromise*, p.135.
[106] Rpt. Com. Inf. Aff. Sen. doc. No. 1, 1s. 33C. pt. I, p. 249. Pub.doc. No. 690.
[107] Sen. doc. No. 1, 1s. 33C. pt. I, p. 275. Pub. doc. No. 690.

The sentiment of the western country clearly demanded the organization of the territory, and with the meeting of Congress the final struggle began. On 14 December, 1853, Dodge of Iowa introduced his Nebraska bill and the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which Douglas reported on 23 January, 1854, as a substitute, was finally passed and approved by the President on 30 May. The bill as passed provided for the organization of the Indian Country north of the thirty-seventh parallel into two territories. Kansas and Nebraska. The Missouri Compromise was repealed and the question of slavery was left to be determined by the people who settled the territory. These provisions regarding slavery met the demands which Atchison made during the summer of 1853 as the only conditions upon which he would support the organization of the Indian Country. Douglas alone was not able to carry the Kansas-Nebraska measure which would open the way for his Pacific railroad. Therefore, it was necessary for him to preserve the coalition with Missouri, for Atchison could command enough western and southern influence to accomplish his purpose. He was obliged to make this concession and in addition he gave Atchison his active support in the latter's campaign against Benton in Missouri, as is shown by the letter of F. P. Blair Jr., to the *Missouri Democrat* 1 March, 1856. "Mr. Douglas especially has taken the trouble on several occasions within the last two years to visit the state of Missouri to give aid and comfort to the 'Nullifiers and Rottens'. . . who have been warring on Old Bullion here since the advent of Tyler."[108]

The fact that Atchison had an important influence in shaping the Kansas-Nebraska Act is beyond question, although there are conflicting stories regarding details. Senator Butler of South Carolina in his defense of Atchison in the Senate on 28 February, 1856, said that "General Atchison. . . had perhaps more to do with the bill than any other senator."[109] He was in a position to know whereof he spoke be-

[108] Quoted in Ray. *Repeal of the Missouri Compromise.* p. 202. Note.
[109] Appendix C. G. 1s. 34C. p. 103.

cause he and Atchison together with Hunter of Virginia had lived at the same place during the session of 1853-54.[110]

There is no doubt that the chief interests behind the Kansas-Nebraska Act were those concerned in the building of the Pacific railroad.[111] Atchison recognized these interests and commented upon them in a letter written from Washington 5 June, 1854, to the *Missouri Republican*, a week after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act:

> "*The Douglas Bill was a western measure. It was designed to add to the power and wealth of the West.* Well might St. Louis declare Benton as hostile to her best interests; for no portion of the country is to be so largely benefitted by the opening of Kansas and Nebraska to settlement. *All of the railroad interests are largely interested, for a terminus on the western frontier, blocked by an Indian wall, is very different from an indefinite extension west through new, rapidly opening settlements.*"[112]

CHANGED LIVING CONDITIONS AND CIVILIZATION OF INDIANS

The last factor to be considered in bringing about the revision of the Indian policy is the changed living conditions and civilization of the Indian himself. When located east of the Mississippi, the Indian had been more or less injured by contact with the white population, his game had been distroyed, he had had to be consolidated into smaller and smaller districts and finally had to turn to agriculture and a civilized mode of living or to migrate to the west. Now in his western home much the same process was going on, only there was now no great unoccupied region to which he could go. The Indians on the border had reached a fair degree of civilization, especially the half-breeds of the tribes. These more advanced Indians were looking forward to the time when they could become citizens, own land in severalty, and live the life of the white man. However, the majority of them were not ready for such measures.

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[110] *Congressional Directory*. 1853-54.

[111] For further discussion on this subject see Hodder, *Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill*. Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1912

[112] Quoted in Ray, *Repeal of the Missouri Compromise*. p. 261. The italics are the author's.

The Wyandot Indians were one of the most advanced tribes on the border and they, particularly, were anxious to become citizens, and were looking forward to changes in policy in their relation to their country. William Walker, a member of their Nation and governor under the so-called Provisional Government of Kansas, wrote in his diary on 25 May, 1850:

> "This may be the last semi-annuity we will receive from the United States, for, if the President and the Senate should confirm our treaty it will certainly be the last. As after that event we Wyandots will become citizens of *Uncle Sam's* States, a truly new era in the history of the Wyandot Nation."[113]

The treaty was not approved but the Wyandots persisted in pressing their measure. The subject was again brought to the attention of Congress in 1852 when the Wyandots asked to become citizens of the new territory which they expected would be immediately organized. Thomas Moseley, the Indian Agent for the Kansas Agency, explained the situation among the Wyandots in a letter to Indian Superintendent D. D. Mitchell, dated 1 September, 1852:

> "I am of the opinion that the entire tribe, with very few, if any, exceptions, are anxious to become citizens of the United States government, in the new territory expected to be organized, north of the Kanzas river and west of Missouri.
>
> "I find quite a difference with this tribe, in the last three years, in the management of their little government affairs by laws of their own creation. Many of the principal men have died, reducing their numbers so as to make it difficult to carry on a system of government; and hence their great desire to change their present condition. They see plainly that they cannot expect to see the present state of things to continue much longer; and from the many reports in circulation, they confidently believe that the Nebraska Territory may, at the present session of Congress, be organized, and they

[113] *Governor Walker's Diary.* Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska Historical Society. 2 Series. Vol. III, p. 309.

> wish to become, by permission of the United States, citizens of that Territory."[114]

The condition of the other tribes near the border was not so far advanced, but they were in need of a change of policy. Their game had been largely killed and destroyed and the government had for years been granting them annuities and had made provisions for aiding in teaching them something of the civilized mode of living. But these arrangements had not been satisfactory either to the Indians or to the government. Commissioner Medill in 1848 reviewed the conditions and pointed out the necessity of a more effective method of handling and regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians. His proposed policy for correcting these defects will be considered later.

Three years later Superintendent D. D. Mitchell made the following report concerning the border tribes:

> "So far as the border tribes are concerned, I am happy to be able to state, (from personal observation) that they are gradually advancing in civilization, and a large majority of them are now as intelligent, comfortable and well informed as their white neighbors. They have become very much intermixed and amalgamated with the whites; and this process of civilization (if it may be so termed) will continue under the existing state of Indian affairs. I have thought and observed much on this subject, and have no hesitation in saying, that an intermixture with the Anglo-Saxon race is the only means by which the Indians of this continent can be partially civilized."[115]

After outlining his proposals regarding the organization of Nebraska Territory and the assigning of land to the Indians he continued:

> "The Indians do not and never can cultivate one acre in a thousand of the productive lands watered by the tributaries of the Missouri, Kansas, Platte, and Arkansas. Moreover, these lands are now of no use to the present owners, the game having been

[114] Sen. doc. No. 1. 2s. 32C. pp. 364-65. Pub. doc. No. 658.
[115] Sen. doc. No. 1, 1s. 32C. pp. 322-26. Pub. doc. No. 613.

> long since killed off. I have talked this subject over with the Indians on several occasions, and have always found the more intelligent portions of the tribes not only willing but anxious to change their condition in such manner as I have recommended."[116]

The tribes further west were far less civilized, but their condition was gradually becoming more serious. The emigrants who had been crossing the plains had been steadily killing off their game. It was not so easy for them to turn to agriculture for a portion of their support, as the border tribes had done. As early as 1849 John Barrow, the Indian Sub-Agent at Council Bluffs, had called the attention of the department to the situation among the Pawnees:

> "Unless the lands of these people are soon purchased by our government, and they removed to a country where game is more abundant, and which does not lie in the midst of their enemies, this once powerful tribe, in a few years, must become extinct."[117]

Two years later Superintendent Mitchell also described the condition of the more western tribes in his annual report for the year 1851:

> "The condition of the prairie and mountain tribes presents but a gloomy prospect for the future. I had an opportunity during the present year of seeing and talking with a majority of the wild nations, and was much surprised to witness the sad change which a few years and unlooked for circumstances had produced. The buffalo, upon which they rely for food, clothing, shelter and traffic, are rapidly diminishing. In addition to their other misfortunes, the hoardes of emigrants passing through the country seem to have scattered death and disease in all directions. The tribes have suffered much from small-pox and cholera, and perhaps still more from venereal diseases. The introduction of all these evils they charge, and I suppose justly, to the whites. While their melan-

[116] Ibid.
[117] Sen. doc. No. 5, 1s. 32C. p. 1078. Pub. doc. No. 570.

> choly condition is greatly to be deplored, it is exceedingly difficult to prescribe a remedy."[118]

These extracts from the reports of the Indian Department are sufficiently clear to show that the Department considered that decided modifications of policy were essential to insure the well-being of the Indian, as well as to allow for westward migration, the road to the Pacific, and the organization of the Nebraska Territory.

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[118] Sen. doc. No. 1, ls. 32C. pp, 324-26. Pub. doc. No. 613.

PART THREE

The New Indian Policy

The period between 1840 and 1848 has been indicated as one of transition in Indian policy. The beginnings of the new forces which were to modify it have been described and then the evolution and growth of the four most important factors in the period after 1848 has been traced to illustrate how they were reacting on each other and were bringing definite and ever increasing influence to bear in demanding a complete modification of the recognized Indian policy in the Trans-Mississippi Valley. This policy of consolidation of the Indians in the southwest between the Red and Platte rivers west of Missouri blocked the free emigration of white population to the Pacific Coast, the Pacific railroad by the central route, the normal extension of the frontier westward toward the Rocky Mountains, and did not solve the problems of protection and civilization of the Indians. During the period through which these forces were developing, they were exerting a continuous pressure to which the officials of the Indian Department responded; first, with uncertainty and with seeming reservations, later, clearly and completely.

GROUPING OF BORDER TRIBES: NORTH AND SOUTH

The first statement in which the new policy is forecasted was made in the very beginning of the transition period. The plan is formulated in the annual report of Indian Commissioner T. Hartley Crawford to the Secretary of War, J. C. Spencer, in 1841. It did not originate with him, but no previous public statement of the plan has been found. It seems to have been one that had been contemplated for some time, although it is quite clear from the operations of the Indian Department that up to this time the older policy of

consolidation had been followed consistently. He states the plan very clearly:

> "Your immediate predecessor,[119] at an early period in his administration of the War Department, contemplated the establishment of an Indian Territory in the northern part of Iowa. Governor Doty, of Wiskonsan, was appointed commissioner to negotiate with the Sioux, or Dakota tribes, for a cession of land for this purpose west of Fort Snelling, embracing the St. Peter's river, in the neighborhood of the Blue Earth river and Swan Lakes. It was not intended, however, to confine him to any particular spot or definite limits, but to indicate that there or thereabouts seemed to be the proper selection. . . . The project seems to me to be judicious, in reference as well to our citizens as to the Indians. It will be difficult to find space southwest of the Missouri for all of the tribes yet to be removed, and perhaps impossible without the acquisitions referred to a twelve month ago. The Southwestern states complain of the congregation of so many Indians on their borders. If there be any danger in their concentration, it will not be increased on the plan proposed, and we shall thus make a counterpoise to the Southwestern Indian Territory, *having a dense white population (that will soon be collected) interposed between the two settlements. It is an important point of national policy,* that judiciously carried out, would, I think, result in great benefits to the country."[120]

In addition he reported that Governor Doty had made two treaties in accordance with this plan, but they had not been ratified. Also commissioners had been appointed to negotiate with the Fox and Winnebagoes, and still other negotiations had been attempted with the Sac and Fox but had not been successful.[121] The most important point is that in this report of Commissioner Crawford are outlined the essential features of the New Indian Policy, viz., the forming

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[119] His immediate predecessor was John Bell, who had been in office only about six months, so it is quite certain that the earlier Secretary Poinsett is referred to here. The report was written about the time the change was made in the War Department, and probably before, therefore the seeming discrepancy can be explained.

[120] Ex. doc. No. 2. 2s. 27C. p. 243. Pub. doc. No. 401. The St. Peter's River is now called the Minnesota River. The italics are the author's.

[121] Ibid. p. 250.

of two great groups or colonies of Indians, one in the north, and one in the south, with "a white poulation interposed between the two settlements," in the valley of the Platte, making a continuous line of white settlements to the coast and opening that important transcontinental route through developed and organized country.

The growing importance of the Oregon Country attracted attention to this problem in another way. If Oregon was to be saved to the United States it was necessary to encourage and protect settlers who might be induced to go there. Atchison's Oregon bill of 1844, Douglas's Nebraska bill of the same year, and his Oregon bill of 1845 were designed to meet this demand. Any one of these bills, had it been enacted into law, would have immediately revolutionized the old Indian policy.

In the same year in which the first Atchison and Douglas bills were presented to Congress, Secretary of War Wilkins discussed the question of the Indians in the Platte Valley in his annual report. At that time he recommended that the territory on both sides of the Platte River be organized and opened to settlement. The Indians who then occupied the region should be moved northward and southward, forming two Indian groups or colonies. By such a plan the organized country between the groups would include and protect the two great routes to Santa Fé and Oregon.[122]

The principle involved in these proposals does not seem to have been generally accepted or recognized during the period from 1840 to 1848 in making relocations of tribes. Except for the treaties mentioned in the report of 1841, it is not referred to as a guide in treaty making in any reports of the Indian Department. However, upon examination of the treaties of removal made during the period the fact comes out that, whether intentionally or not, they were in accordance with this principle, as were other relocations recom-

[122] H. Ex. doc. No. 2. 2s. 28C. p. 124. Pub. doc. No. 463.

mended by the department which were not carried out. These treaties are classified in the table below to indicate the tribes shifted northward and southward.[123]

A. Tribes moved northward.

1842 Chippewas from Wisconsin and Michigan to Minn. (Consolidated on lands of tribe).

1846 Winnebagoes from Iowa and Minnesota to Minn.

1847 Chippewas from Wisconsin to Minnesota. (Consolidated).

1848 Menomini from Wisconsin to Minnesota.

B. Tribes moved southward.

1842 Wyandott from Ohio and Michigan to Kansas.

1842 Sac and Fox from Iowa to Kansas.

1846 Kansas from Kansas to Kansas. (Consolidated to make room for removal of other tribes).

One of the recommended treaties is worthy of special notice because of the principle which is advocated in regard to the purchase of lands from the Indians. The land of the Peorias was located near the border and a few miles south of the Kansas River. These Indians were related to the Weas and Miamis. The Indian Superintendent at St. Louis made the following proposal:

> "The Peorias have decreased within the last few years. . . . They are anxious to sell. . . . I would suggest that their land be purchased. . . . I am aware that the government has no immediate use for the land, but *I would urge it, as a good policy on the part of the government, to extinguish the Indian title to the lands that they have no need of, whenever it can be done* on advantageous terms, and with benefit to the Indians."[124]

Superintendent Harvey had two purposes in making this recommendation. First, the consolidation of these small, weak, tribal groups would make for the more efficient administration and for the well-being of the Indians. Second, the purchase of all lands on the frontier as fast as possible.

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[123] Data taken from Royce, *Indian Land Cessions*. In Eighteenth Annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Part II. *Polk's Diary* shows that the removal of the Winnebagoes to Minnesota was in accordance with his recommendations. Vol. II. pp. 169, 187.

[124] Report of Supt. T. H. Harvey. 1846. Sen. doc. No. 1, 2s. 29C. pp. 282-88. Pub. doc. No. 493. The italics are the author's.

It was along this section of the frontier that the white population was exerting its greatest pressure toward breaking through the Indian wall into the valleys of the Kansas and Platte rivers beyond.

The developments which have just been outlined become much more significant when they are considered in connection with the report of Indian Commissioner Medill for 1848. These tendencies here are crystallized, taking definite shape in the new Indian policy. This statement of policy is prefaced by a discussion of the moral and material condition of the Indians in the west and the obligation which rested on the government to provide for their welfare. The Indians had never been able to make a sudden transition from savagery to civilization and when they came into direct contact with white men it was always to their detriment. Measures should be taken to prevent this, and as a means to this end he advocated the consolidation of the Indians into compact groups. Under this kind of an arrangement the administration could be made more efficient and measures taken for their civilization could be made more effective. Then he comes to the heart of the question:

> "If this great end is to be accomplished, however, *material changes will soon have to be made in the position of some of the smaller tribes on the frontier, so as to leave an ample outlet for our white population to spread and to pass towards and beyond the Rocky Mountains*: else, not only will they be run over and extinguished, but, all may be materially injured.
>
> *"It may be said that we have commenced the establishment of two colonies for the Indians that have been compelled to remove;* one north, on the headwaters of the Mississippi, and the other south, on the western borders of Missouri and Arkansas, the southern limit of which is the Red River. . . . The southern boundary of this [northern] colony will be the Watabe River, which is the southern limit for the country of the Winnebagoes. . . .
>
> "If the Kansas River were made the northern boundary of the southern colony there would be ample space of unoccupied territory below it for

all Indians above it that should be included in the colony. But the Delawares, Potawatomies, and possibly the Kickapoos, who, or nearly all of whom, are just above that river, it would not be necessary to disturb. Above these and on or adjacent to the frontiers, are the band of Sac and Foxes, known as the 'Sac and Foxes of Missouri,' the Iowas, the Ottoes and Missouris, the Omahas, the Poncas, and the *Pawnees. The last named tribe is back some distance from the frontier, on the Platte river, directly on the route to Oregon,* and has been the most troublesome to the emigrants in that territory. By the treaty of 1833 *they ceded all their lands south of that river, and obliged themselves to remove north of it;* but as they are constantly liable to attacks from the Sioux in that direction, those south have never been removed. As, however, there will soon be a military force in that region, which can afford them protection from the Sioux, *they may properly be compelled at an early day to remove to and keep within their own country; and thus be out of the way of emigrants. . . . The other tribes mentioned can gradually be removed down to the southern colony, as the convenience of our emigrants and the pressure of our white population may require; which may be the case at no distant day,* as the greater portion of the lands they occupy are eligibly located at and near the Missouri river, and from that circumstance, and their superior quality, said to be very desirable. Indeed it would be a measure of great humanity to purchase out and remove the Omahas and the Ottoe and Missouris at an early period, particularly the former. . . as they are circumscribed in their hunting expeditions by the Sioux and Pawnees, they are liable at times to destitution and great suffering. . . . [Their] country is estimated to contain from five to six million acres of valuable land, which could be obtained at the time at a very moderate price. . . . Reasons of a similar kind exist for buying out and removing at an early period, the Ottoes and Missouris. . . .The lands claimed by them are estimated to embrace two or three million acres. *These two measures consummated. the Pawnees removed north of the Platte, and the Sioux of the Missouri restrained from country south of that river, there would be*

> *a wide and safe passage for our Oregon emigrants; and for such of those to California as may prefer to take that route,* which I am informed will probably be the case with many.
>
> "Eventually when the Sioux have left the Mississippi region, and the Pawnees have been displaced in one or other of the ways mentioned, and when the other intervening tribes between the northern and southern colony, shall have been removed within the latter, *an ample outlet of about six geographical degrees will be opened for our population that may incline to pass or expand in that direction;* and thus prevent our colonized tribes from being injuriously pressed upon, if not swept away; *while to the south of the southern colony there will also be a sufficient outlet for such portion of our population as may take that direction.*"[125]

The above report illustrates the two points to be accomplished by this new policy. The Indians were to be removed from the Platte and Kansas valleys in order to open fully the central route to the Pacific, and in order to provide a great area of fertile country for the extension of the frontier. Commissioner Medill recognized the work that had already been done toward the fulfillment of this program. Still, only a beginning had been made, and the recommendations which were included in this report would further its achievement. He also recognized that he would have to deal with sectional jealousies, and therefore called special attention to the fact that to the south of this southern Indian colony there would be ample opportunity for the expansion of white settlements to the westward. It must be remembered that this was just at the close of the Mexican War when the question of the organization of the new southwest made the problem of slavery and its extension into the territories particularly bitter. And it was further complicated by the rivalry over the routes for the Pacific railroad. In this way the northern and central states could be satisfied by the central outlet and the south by the southern outlet to the Pacific and the re-

[125] Report of Com. of Ind. Aff. 1848. Ex. doc. No. 1, 2s. 30C. pp. 388-90. Pub. doc. No. 537. The italics are the author's.

cently acquired territory. In this report the Indian Department has formulated its new policy, and this marks the beginning of the definite movement on their part to fulfill it. Their efforts were continued until the day of the final accomplishment of their aim in the extinguishment of the Indian titles in the central part of the Indian Country and its organization into Kansas and Nebraska territories.

In 1848 the Department of the Interior was created and the Indian Department, which had been a division of the War Department, was now transferred to it. The year 1849 was the first under the new arrangement. The presidential election brought in a new political party and a change in the heads of departments. But in spite of all these changes there was no modification in the new policy in regard to the Indian Country. Orlando Brown, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, advocated in his annual report of 1849 the program of grouping the Indians, adopted enthusiastically the course outlined by his predecessor and repeated the recommendations for the relocation of the border tribes:

> "A prominent feature in this course of policy should be to carry out an excellent suggestion in the annual report of my predecessor of last year, that the smallest tribes scattered along the frontier, above the Delawares and Kickapoos—embracing the Sacs and Foxes of Missouri, the Iowas, the Omahas, the Ottoes and Missouris, the Poncas, and if possible the Pawnees—should be removed down among the tribes of our southern colony, where suitable situations may be found for them, in connection with other Indians of kindred stock. Such an arrangement, in connection with the change which must inevitably take place in the position of the Sioux, would, as remarked by my predecessor, open up a wide sweep of country between our northern and southern colonies for the expansion and egress of our white population westward, and thus save our colonized Indians from being injuriously pressed upon, if not eventually overrun and exterminated, before they are sufficiently advanced in civilization, and in the attainment of resources and advantages, to be able to maintain themselves

> in close proximity with, or in the midst of, a white population."[126]

In another part of the report Commissioner Brown made a definite application of the new principle of grouping. The Stockbridge Indians were being relocated and a place had to be selected for their new home. The central region was considered, but was rejected, for:

> "To locate at any point between the Winnebagoes and Menominies, on the upper Mississippi or its vicinity, and the Kickapoos and Delawares, in the neighborhood of the Kansas river, south of the Missouri, *would be inconsistent with the policy of keeping a wide space between the northern and southern Indian colonies as an outlet for our white population.*"[127]

A location which was satisfactory to the Indians, was not found for some time. They were first assigned to lands in Minnesota, but later definitely located in Wisconsin.[128]

The recommendations of some of the subordinates in the Indian Department were even more urgent than those of the Indian Commissioner himself. D. D. Mitchell of the St. Louis Superintendency insisted that the policy must be carried out quickly. Thus he said:

> "I would next call your attention to the necessity of some speedy action in reference to the half breed lands near the mouth of the Kansas river, and between the two Nemehas.[129] Many of the claimants are desirous to sell, while but few evince any disposition to settle on the lands. It would, in my opinion, be the best policy for the government to purchase these tracts as early as possible; for, considering the vast tide of emigration that is now settling westward, the time is not distant when it will require twenty fold the amount to extinguish the title of the claimants, than it would at present."[130]

It is evident that Mitchell recognized the force which the

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[126] Rpt. Indian Comm. 1849. Sen. Ex. doc. No. 1, 1s. 31C p. 946. Serial No. 570.
[127] Ibid. p. 947. The italics are the author's.
[128] See Royce, *Indian Land Cessions*. pp. 780-81.
[129] In the southeast corner of Nebraska.
[130] Sen. doc. No. 5, 1s. 31C. p. 1068. Pub. doc. No. 570.

pressure of the westward movement of population was exerting on the Indian wall along the frontier. He realized that it was only a matter of time until that wall would be broken and white settlements would spread over the whole region.

In the same year, John E. Barrow, the Indian Sub-Agent at Council Bluffs, adds his recommendation for the removal of the Pawnees:

> "Unless the lands of this people are soon purchased by the government, and they removed to a country where game is more abundant, and which does not lie in the midst of their enemies, this once powerful tribe, in a very few years, must become an extinct race."[131]

These Indians lived in the central Platte Valley, and most of the emigrant travel to the coast had been through the country which they occupied. The slaughter of game had already gone on to such an extent that they were not able to support themselves, and continued slaughter of their game and their contact with the emigrants made their future impossible under the conditions which must exist there.

Although another change took place in the office of Indian Commisioner in 1850, there was again no change in the general policy. Mr. Luke Lea, the new Commissioner, again adopted the new policy of grouping the Indians into two colonies and advocated it in his annual report. His language is almost identical with that which Commissioner Medill had used two years earlier, and it is evident that he was using Medill's statement as his model.[132] But he went further by emphasizing more definitely the necessity of a central as well as a southern outlet to the western possessions of the United States:

> "Below the most southern of our colonized tribes we have an ample outlet to the southwest, but *another of higher latitude is required, leading more directly to our remote western possessions.*"[133]

Then he indicated the removals which he considered most

[131] Ibid, p. 1078.
[132] Sen. doc. No. 1. 2s. 31C. p. 39. Pub. doc. No. 587.
[133] Ibid. The italics are the author's.

necessary and desirable as the first steps in the fulfillment of the policy:

> "A beginning will be made in carrying this measure of policy and humanity into effect by the purchase, as contemplated, from the Sioux, of a large portion of their country;—and it may be fully consummated by the removal of a few tribes between the Sioux territory and the Kansas river, with whom we have no treaty stipulations guaranteeing in perpetuity their possessions. Suitable locations may be found for them south of that river, where secure in comfortable and permanent homes, they would be stimulated by the salutary influence and example of neighboring and more enlightened tribes."[134]

Again in the next year he repeated his statement of policy. Also he announced:

> *"The recent purchase from the Sioux of a large portion of their country supplies this outlet in part,* and will enable the government by the removal of a few tribes between the Sioux territory and the Kansas river, to throw open a wide extent of country for the spread of our population westward. . . ."[135]

In the same report he brings the Nebraska movement into direct relation to the question of the removals which he had just recommended:

> "The necessity for an appropriation to carry these measures speedily into effect is the more apparent and imperious, in view of the already imposing demonstrations of the public feeling in favor of the early organization of a territorial government over the territory on which these Indians reside."[136]

What had been referred to in a general way in the earlier reports as the pressure of white population or the extension of the western frontier had now become a definite movement

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[134] Ibid.

[135] Sen. doc. No. 1. 1s. 32C. p. 268. Pub. doc. No. 613. The italics are the author's. The Sioux territory referred to lay in Iowa, Minnesota and the eastern edge of the Dakotas.

[136] Ibid.

for the organization of this part of the Indian Country which had now come to be called Nebraska. The organization of Nebraska as a separate movement has already been traced, but now here as early as 1851 explicit evidence is afforded of the influence which its development had on the evolution of Indian policy.

Other members of the Indian Department were not without interest in the situation and the tendencies developing in the middle west relative to the same movement. They were western men and it is possible that in a large measure they may have been responsible for the attitude of the Indian Department as a whole. Mr. D. D. Mitchell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, presented his plans in his report of 1851. Of course he approaches the question from the standpoint of the well-being of the Indian, but whatever the point of view, the result would be the same for the Indian Country. Thus he explains his plans:

> "I have thought and observed much on this subject, and have no hesitation in saying, that an intermixture with the Anglo-Saxon race is the only means by which the Indians of this continent can be *partially* civilized. In order to carry out this plan, I beg leave to suggest, for the consideration of the department, the following measures, viz.; the laying off of Nebraska Territory, with the following boundaries: Commencing on the Missouri, at the mouth of the Kansas river, and running up the Missouri to the mouth of the L'au qui court, or Running Water river; following up the Running Water river to its source, about thirty miles above Fort Laramie, where this stream issues from the base of the Black-hill; from thence due south to the Arkansas river; thence along our established boundaries to the western line of the state of Missouri, to the place of beginning. This would give the United States all the agricultural lands south of the Missouri river that are considered exclusively Indian territory. . . .
>
> "The force of circumstances will soon compel the government to adopt some plan by which the fine agricultural lands (that form a large portion of Nebraska) will be thrown open to that class of

> American citizens that have always been found on our frontiers, forming as they do a connecting link between the civilized and savage life. The state south of the Missouri river is densely populated along the western border, there being a continuous range of farms immediately on the line. The same state of things existed only a few years since on the north side of the Missouri river, when the government was compelled to make what is known as the 'Platte Purchase,' and which is now the most populous and wealthy portion of the State."[137]

He proposed that in the case of the more advanced tribes the head of a family should be granted one section of land which could not be sold for fifty years. He hoped that by that time these Indians would be sufficiently civilized that the whites could not take undue advantage of them and their holdings would be safe. This was somewhat of a departure from the generally accepted policy of consolidation within smaller limits, separated from direct contact with white population, but it must be remembered that this was to apply only to the most civilized tribes. It was injecting a new element into Indian policy, one that was to play a much larger part in the later history. In the case of the more backward tribes they should still be grouped further west in the northern and southern colonies.

In the same year A. M. Coffee, the Indian Agent at the Osage Agency, discussed the same topic in his report. He seemed much concerned over the scanty results which were obtained in trying to civilize the Indians:

> "To remedy these evils, doubtless the most effective plan would be to concentrate within narrower limits the tribes between whom and our government there are subsisting treaties, more specially those south of the Missouri and the Platte rivers, and north of the Cherokee boundary. These number in all not exceeding fifteen thousand, diffused over a territory of not less than ten thousand miles—a population less than is con-

[137] Sen. doc. No. 1. 1s. 32C. pp. 322-26. Pub. doc. No. 613.

tained in some of the border counties in the state of Missouri of twenty-five miles square.

"Besides the good consequences resulting to the Indian, it would throw open to the occupancy of the white man a large extent of fertile country, justly esteemed as among the richest and the most beautiful portions of the west."[138]

This early activity on the part of the Indian Department in preparing for the opening of the Nebraska Country really preceded the Nebraska movement itself as it was agitated in Congress. In its later stages it developed contemporary with and as a part of that movement.

RIGHT OF WAY THROUGH COUNTRY OF PRAIRIE AND MOUNTAIN TRIBES

The factors which contributed to the modification of the Indian policy bore with particular force on the tribes located on or near the border of the Indian Country. They were so located that all the forces operated directly on them. This was not so true of the tribes occupying lands further west. There, none of the factors exerted so direct an influence and the one factor of the westward expansion of the frontier did not contribute to the problem except in an indirect manner. For these reasons the new Indian policy was formulated in respect to the border tribes at an earlier date than in respect to the prairie and mountain tribes. Yet the solution of the problem of the Indians of the far west was essential to the complete evolution of the new policy. In particular it was necessary for the development and protection of the central route to the Pacific and the emigration over that route.

The country occupied by the western tribes was both prairie and mountain districts, high, dry, and with the minimum of vegetation. The Indians were among the most fierce and savage of the tribes of the country, and had had little contact with civilization. Their mode of living was of the simplest. Their food was for the most part the buffalo, deer, antelope, etc.; only such game as the semi-arid prairies could furnish. Their clothing was almost solely the skins of the

[138] Sen. doc. No. 1. 1s. 32C. p. 354. Pub. doc. No 613.

same animals. They were scattered over a vast area and their contact with each other was so vague and indefinite that there had been no fixed boundaries established either by the Indians themselves or by the government.

Through the country of these prairie and mountain tribes ran two great trails leading toward the Pacific. In the north central district was the Oregon and California Trail, which had been used on a large scale only since about 1843. In the south was the Santa Fé Trail, used as a great commercial route since about 1822. Almost the only contact which these Indians had with white civilization was through merchants, traders, emigrants, and military expeditions. After 1848 the enormous emigration to Oregon and California had raised serious questions in regard to free passage through the country and the killing of game. The coming of white men brought with it all the usual attending evils. The emigrants killed off the game in great quantities and within a very short time the Indians were short of food in many districts. As was usual under the circumstances the relations between the emigrants and the Indians were not without friction, and in case of Indian depredations, it was exceedingly difficult if not impossible to discover and punish the guilty tribes.

FORT LARAMIE TREATY, 1851. THE NORTHWEST TRIBES

The man who seems to have been most interested in this phase of the Indian relations was D. D. Mitchell, who had been Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis for some years. Before becoming Indian Superintendent he had been engaged in the fur trade and was particularly familiar with the Indians of that region. He knew the difficulties that had been experienced by the emigrants, and attacks on emigrant trains, and appreciated the precarious condition of the Indians on account of the great scarcity of game. The Indians were becoming more and more discontented, and the government was not in a position to handle the situation properly until more definite treaty relations were established and the Indian boundaries fixed so that responsibility could be placed for Indian depredations in any particular region. Superintendent Mitchell advised that the Indians of the

prairie and mountain tribes east of the Rocky Mountains and north of the Arkansas River should be called together and that a formal treaty should be made in the presence of all of the tribes. So in order to carry out his plan, he prepared a bill granting to the president the authority to make such a treaty and appropriating money to pay the expenses of its negotiation. This bill was endorsed by Orlando Brown, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and was submitted to David R. Atchison, the chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. Atchison presented the bill from his committee on 18 March, 1850, together with a report which confirmed the representations of Superintendent Mitchell.[139] However, the bill was delayed on account of the slavery struggle then going on in Congress, and although it passed the Senate it did not receive consideration in the House during that session. Meanwhile Mitchell had felt so confident that it would pass, in view of the attitude of Congress and the wishes of President Tyler, that he made representations to the Indians accordingly. These of course he had to retract when the bill failed.[140]

In his annual report of 1850, Mitchell again recommended the treaty with the prairie and mountain Indians and in the next year the measure was carried. The Indians were called to meet at Fort Laramie on 1 September, 1851. He made the most careful preparations to make the conference a success and managed it himself, aided by Agent Fitzpatrick of the Upper Platte and Arkansas River Agency. The Superintendent's party also included Colonel Chambers, editor of the *St. Louis Republican,* and B. Gratz Brown, also of St. Louis. As Father De Smet had unusual influence with the Indians, he attended by special invitation of the Superintendent to aid in the conference.[141] The Indians included in the conference were the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, the Sioux or Dahcotahs, the Gros-ventres, the Assiniboins, the Ankoras, the Crows, and the Shoshones or Snakes. The treaty was

[139] Senate Journal. 1s. 31C. p. 221. Commissioner's report and documents are printed in Senate doc. No. 70. Sen. Misc. docs. 1s. 31C. Pub. doc. No. 563.
[140] Mitchell's report. Sen. doc. No. 1. 2s. 31C. p. 47. Pub. doc. No. 587.
[141] De Smet. *Life and Travels among the North American Indians.* II, pp. 674 ff. and IV. p. 1565.

completed on 17 September, together with a new map of the country showing the newly defined boundaries. This treaty provided that the Indians grant to the United States the right to establish roads and military and other posts in their country and that they abstain from all depredations on the whites passing through their country. The boundaries of the territory occupied by each of the tribes were defined for the first time. The government on its part distributed presents of goods among the Indians as a settlement of their grievances against the whites, and agreed to pay them $50,000 per year in annuities for a period of fifty years.[142]

This treaty was ratified by the Senate on 24 May, 1852, with an amendment which must be ratified by the Indians before it could go into effect. The amendment provided that the annuities promised in the original treaty should be paid for a period of only ten years instead of fifty. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and the Sioux ratified the amendment during the summer of 1853, but it seems that the remainder of the tribes, the Gros-ventres, Assiniboins, Ankoras, Crows, and Shoshones did not.[143] However, although the treaty was not legally completed by all the parties, the government considered itself bound by its provisions and appropriated money regularly to carry them out.[144]

By this treaty Mitchell was laying the foundation for an Indian policy in the far west which coincided with the grouping policy being developed further east. In the same report in which he described the Laramie treaty he explained his plans for future change among the prairie and mountain tribes.

> "As a means of turning their [Indian] attention to Agriculture and grazing pursuits, I would recommend that a suitable section of the country, somewhere on the Missouri or its tributaries, be assigned to the half-breeds, who are becoming very

[142] Report of Supt. Mitchell. Sen. doc. No. 1. 1s. 32C. pp. 288-90. Pub. doc. No. 613. De Smet's account appears in his *Life and Travels*. II. pp. 674 ff. De Smet approved the treaty and held that the government did the best possible for the Indians. Larpenteur, in his *Forty Years as a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri*, II. pp. 418-22, denounced the treaty unequivocally.

[143] Report of Agent Fitzpatrick 1852. Sen doc. No. 1. 1s. 33C. pp. 366-71. Pub. doc. No. 690.

[144] 11 U. S. Statutes. Note p. 749.

> numerous throughout the Indian country. . . . A half-breed colony, properly located in the midst of the Indians, would form a semi-civilized nucleus around which the wild Indians would soon be drawn by necessity to assemble. . . .
>
> "Another half-breed colony of the same character should be established at some suitable point on the headwaters of the Arkansas. During the recent council at Fort Laramie I talked the matter over frequently with the half-breeds and the Indians; both parties were delighted with the plan. . . .
>
> "Should the government determine to establish these half-breed colonies, I would earnestly recommend that they be located as far as possible from the great thoroughfares leading to New Mexico, California and Oregon."[145]

In the Laramie treaty the immediate object was to provide for the security and development of the central route to the Pacific. In this proposal the dominating idea behind the establishment of half-breed colonies was the grouping of the Indians into northern and southern colonies, as was being done with the border tribes, and the removal of the Indians from the country between them. Mitchell's purpose in his "talks" with the Indians was to try to accustom them to the idea of the colonization plan as well as to make arguments in support of his idea in his recommendations to his superiors and to Congress.

FORT ATKINSON TREATY, 1853. SOUTHWEST TRIBES

The Laramie treaty opened the central route to the Pacific through the country of the prairie and mountain tribes and established definite relations between these Indians as far south as the Arkansas River. In the country to the south and west of that river the tribes were in much the same condition, and through it ran the Santa Fé Trail. And another question which was becoming of greater and greater importance was railroads. Two of the proposed routes crossed this country. One from St. Louis followed the line of the

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[145] Sen. doc. No. 1. ls. 32C. pp. 324-26. Pub doc. No. 613. This proposal was endorsed by Commissioner Luke Lea in his report of 1852. Sen. doc. No. 1. ls. 32C. pp. 296. Pub. doc. No. 659.

Santa Fé Trail. The other ran from Fort Smith to Santa Fé and then to the coast by about the same route as the first. Up to 1853 there had been no adequate agreements made with the tribes of the southwest, but in that year this phase of the new Indian policy was completed. Under instructions dated 5 May, 1853, Fitzpatrick of the Upper Platte River Agency was sent out to make a treaty of friendship with these Indians; the Comanche, Kiowa and Apache. A treaty was concluded at Fort Atkinson[146] on 27 July in accordance with the instructions. Article 3 is of particular interest in connection with the evolution of the general Indian policy, and is as follows:

> "Article 3. The aforesaid Indian tribes do also hereby fully acknowledge the right of the United States to lay off and mark out roads and highways, to make reservations of land necessary thereto—to locate depots—and to establish military and other posts within the territory inhabited by the said tribes; and also to prescribe and enforce, in such manner as the President or Congress of the United States shall from time to time direct, rules and regulations to protect the rights of persons and property among the said Indian tribes."[147]

Fitzpatrick made his report in November and in it made a clear explanation of the real meaning of the above article:

> "The mere acknowledgment of a right of way through their country was readily conceded, because it had been long enjoyed; but upon the subjects of military posts, and reservations of land, and hostilities against the Republic of Mexico, they were found to be far more tenacious. . . .
>
> "The same objections which operate, to a greater degree, against military locations, also induced them to oppose the reservations of land by the United States for depots and roads; but, in *view of the fact that at no distant day the whole country over which those Indians now roam must be peopled by another and more enterprising race,* and

[146] Near the present site of Dodge City, Kansas.
[147] 10 U. S. Statutes 1013.

> also of the consideration that the *channels of commerce between the east and the west* will eventually, in part at least, *pass through their country*, it was regarded as incumbent as far as possible, for any action the government might see proper to take upon the subject. *Already the idea of a great central route to the Pacific by railway has become deeply impressed upon the public mind; and while many courses are contemplated two of them at least are designed to pass through this section of the country.* Should the results of explorations now in progress determine it thus, *the acknowledgment contained in this clause of the treaty may be found of inestimable value. It will afford all the concession necessary for locations, pre-emptions, reservations, and settlements,* and avoid, besides, the enhanced costs of secondary treaties with those tribes. Moreover, it will open a rich vein of wealth in what is now a wilderness, and that, too, without additional public burden. *In this respect, therefore, these concessions cannot but be regarded as extremely fortunate.*"[148]

The underlying motives in making the Fort Atkinson treaty in this particular form are certainly sufficiently clear and impressive. Its provisions were designed to admit of the interpretation that they might be considered as grants of right of way for railroads and locations for settlements. The Laramie treaty contained practically the same provisions for the grant of right of way for roads and locations for military and other posts. It is evident that they also would be open to the same kind of an interpretation. Thus by these two great Indian treaties the two most practicable railroad routes to the Pacific were opened through the country of the prairie and mountain tribes.

REALIZATION OF THE NEW POLICY: THIRD PHASE

Having traced the evolution of the new Indian policy as it applied to the border tribes down to 1853 and as it was completed for the prairie and mountain tribes, it only remains to

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[148] Sen. doc. No. 1. pt. 1. 1s. 33C. p. 363. Pub. doc. No. 690. The italics are the author's. The Fort Atkinson treaty was ratified with amendments 12 April, 1854. The Indians agreed to the amendments 21 July. The treaty was proclaimed 12 February, 1855.

trace the final steps in the fulfillment of the new policy as it was worked out in conjunction with the last stages of the movement to organize the Nebraska country. One of the most persistent objections to the organization of Nebraska made during the debates in Congress was that the country had been set aside permanently for the exclusive use of the Indians and had been guaranteed to them by treaties. The government therefore had no right to open it to settlement. Before the country could be legally opened the Indian title must be extinguished. In order to meet this objection an amendment had been made to the Richardson bill in 1853 to provide that no lands could be settled until the title had been legally extinguished.[149] At that time Howard of Texas had led the opposition to the bill. He had also proposed that the boundary of the territory should be 39° 30′ instead of 36° 30′ in order to allow the Indians sufficient lands. Hall and Richardson defended the bill and insisted that Howard's interest was not for the welfare of the Indians but was to prevent the organization of Nebraska in order to block northern expansion and the central route for the Pacific railroad. Emigration to the Pacific would in that way be diverted to the south and the railroad would have to be built by the southern route. Texas Indians would be forced northward and that country would be opened to settlement along the railroad. This attempt on the part of southern interests to block the extinguishment of Indian title in the Nebraska country failed. Although the Richardson bill to organize the territory was defeated, another bill was passed which authorized the president to negotiate with the Indian tribes west of the states of Missouri and Iowa for the purpose of extinguishing the Indian title to all or part of that country.[150]

The character of the Indian title in the Indian Country has already been explained.[151] The only land legally held by the Indians in what is now Kansas and southern Nebraska was

[149] C. G. 1s. 32C. p. 1116.
[150] Report of Comm. of Ind. Affs. Sen. doc. No. 1. pt. 1. 1s. 33C. p. 249. Pub. doc. No. 690.
[151] See above, pp. 55, 57, and map, p. 56.

in reality only a comparatively narrow strip along the eastern border, except in the Kansas River Valley, where the Indian holdings extended somewhat over a hundred miles into the interior. By far the greatest part of the land had never been assigned to any tribe or tribes, although it was hunted over by the Indians of the region and especially the northern part which had been held by the Pawnees and was still occupied by them although they had relinquished their title in 1833.

The prevailing ideas on the character of the Indian title in respect to the far western region were so vague and represented so grave a misunderstanding that Agent Fitzpatrick of the Upper Platte and Arkansas River Agency tried to clear up the matter somewhat in his report of 1853:

> These prairie and mountain tribes do not occupy the same territory which they occupied fifty years ago. "It is a moving claim, a constantly shifting location, a vagabond right, and, at best, only amounting to the privilege of *occupancy*, and not to that of *exclusion*. . . . This migratory process has given to these Indian nations no title to exclude others. . . . Regarding therefore, the carelessly received opinion about the extinguishment of Indian title, as based upon false ideas of what that title is, and how it originates. . . I cannot avoid stating candidly the objections which exist to its extension.
>
> "The foregoing observations have been called forth by the fact that opposition might arise on that score to any act on the part of the government calculated to induce settlement in what is known as 'Indian Territory.' "[152]

In accordance with the act of Congress of 1853 Manypenny, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, made a preliminary visit to the Indians of the border during the summer to explain to them the purpose of the government. "With a few exceptions," he reported, "the Indians were opposed to selling any part of their lands" as the people from the states had for some time been going into the territory exploring

[152] Sen. doc. No. 1. pt. 1. 1s. 33C. p. 366–71. Pub. doc. No. 690.

with a view to making locations for settlements and seriously excited the Indians.[158]

In the same report he went on to recommend the organization of the territory:

> "The acquisition of Texas, New Mexico and our Pacific possessions, and the vast annual emigration which passes through the Indian country and over the Indian reservations, on its journey thither, and which was not anticipated at the time the Indians were located there, rendered it absolutely necessary that they be placed out of the paths of the emigrants as far as possible. The interests of both require it. . . .
>
> "In my judgment, the interests of the Indians require that a civilized government be immediately organized in the territory. . . .
>
> "In the annual report of November 30, 1848, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs suggested the policy of procuring and keeping open portions of the lands west of Missouri and Iowa, for the egress and expansion of our own population; and the same measure has been urged in several successive annual reports. *The necessity of opening an ample western outlet for our rapidly increasing population, seems to have been clearly foreseen by this department.* The negotiations with the Indians who will have to be disturbed, and the arrangements for their peaceful and comfortable relocation, requiring time and deliberation, it is to be regretted that the authority and the means for accomplishing the object were not given more in advance of the exigency which has occured, and which appears to require proceedings of a more precipitate character than should have been permitted to become necessary.
>
> "Objections have been urged to the organization of a civil government in the Indian country; but those that cannot be overcome are not to be compared to the advantages which will flow to the Indians from such a measure, with treaties to conform to the new order of things, and suitable laws for their protection.
>
> "In addition to this, the preparation of a large

[158] Ibid. p. 249.

> district of that country for settlement, by removing the Indians, would open up, in a most desirable locality, homes for the enterprising and hardy pioneers who are ready to occupy it, and by their energies speedily to found in it a state, the beneficial influences of which, from its position, would be of incalculable advantage to the Indian, as well as the government and the people of the United States."[154]

He then pointed out that the money appropriated at the last session of Congress was not sufficient to carry out the negotiations for the extinguishment of the Indian title and asked that more money be appropriated at the next session. Furthermore he was not satisfied with the limited nature of the plans of the government and urged that authority be extended so as to allow negotiations to be carried out with other tribes in "what is known as Nebraska."

The Commissioner was supported in his recommendations by Agent Fitzpatrick, who had just secured the ratification by the prairie and mountain tribes in his district of the amendments to the Laramie Treaty. Fitzpatrick criticized the policy of consolidation of the Indians and keeping them at the expense of the government, both because of its cost and because he considered that it was really detrimental to the moral and material welfare of the Indians. He recommended:

> "—such modifications in the 'intercourse laws' as will invite the residence of traders amongst them, and *open the whole country to settlement. . . . The effect of so removing the barriers* that now oppose the residence of our own citizens amongst them, *as to afford inducements of preemption to settlers, would,* I am satisfied, be in every way productive of good to the Indians themselves, and would, at the same time, *yield to the hands of industry and enterprise a large and valuable territory, that now serves only as a disconnecting wilderness between the States of the Pacific and Atlantic slopes.*"[155]

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[154] Ibid. pp. 251–52. The italics are the author's.
[155] Sen. doc. No. 1. pt. 1. ls. 33C. p. 366–71. Pub. doc. No. 690. The italics are the author's.

On the question of consolidation of the Indians he differed from most of the others, but the end in view was the same: the opening of the Platte Valley to settlement and the connecting of the Pacific Coast with the east.

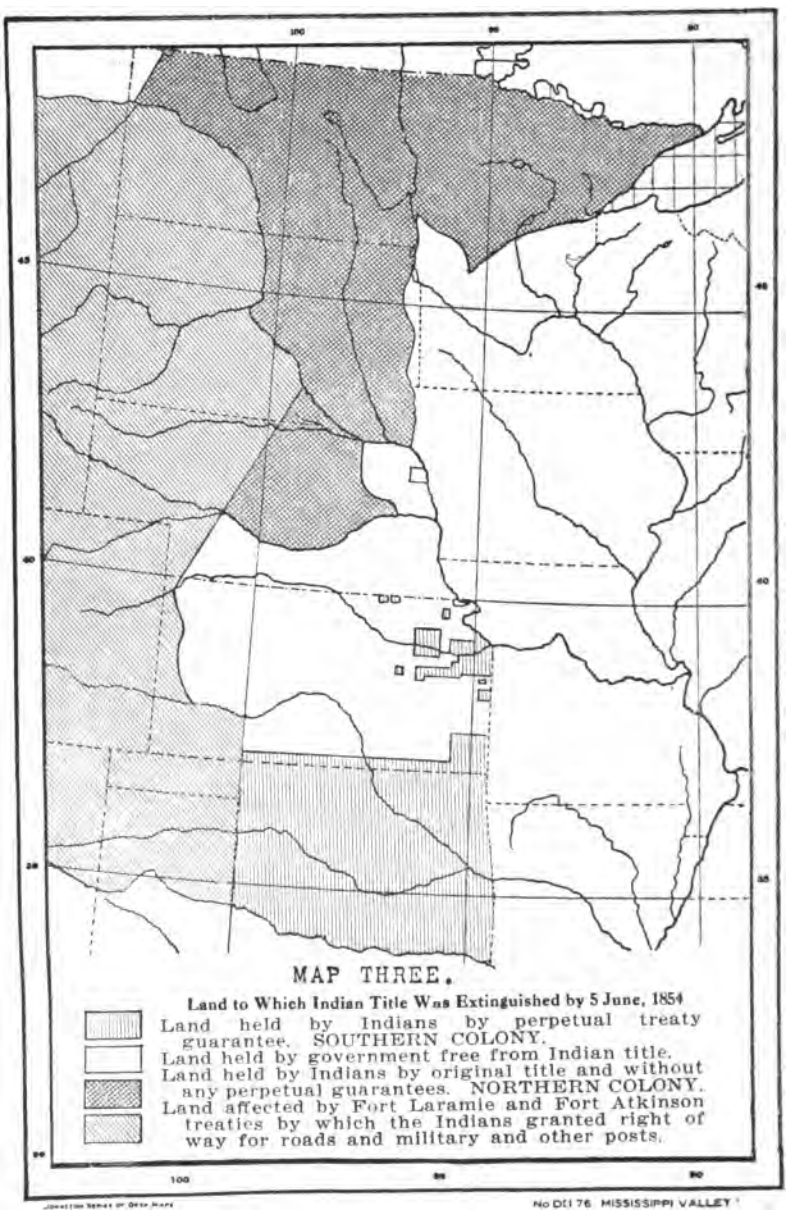
During the winter of 1853-54, while Congress was debating the organization of Kansas and Nebraska and the question of the extension of slavery to those territories, the Indian Department, under authorization of Congress, was busy making treaties with the Indians to extinguish the Indian title within the limits of the proposed territories. The following is the list of treaties which were made, together with their dates of conclusion, ratification, and proclamation:

Tribe	Treaty Concluded	Ratified	Proclaimed
Ottoe and Missouri	15 March 1854	17 April	21 June
Omaha	16 March 1854	17 April	21 June
Delaware	6 May 1854	11 July	17 July
Shawnee	10 May 1854	2 Aug.	2 Nov.
Iowa	17 May 1854	11 July	17 July
Sac and Fox of Mo.	18 May 1854	11 July	17 July
Kickapoo	18 May 1854	11 July	17 July
Kaskasia, Peoria, Wea and Piankeshaw	30 May 1854	2 Aug.	10 Aug.
Miami	5 June 1854	4 Aug.	4 Aug.

Other treaties were recommended to complete the extinguishment of Indian title, but these were all that were immediately necessary.[156] These treaties ceded to the government practically all the territory in the eastern part of the present states of Kansas and Nebraska except some large tracts in the Kansas River Valley. However, later treaties ceded those lands within a short time, leaving only a few small Indian reservations.

Besides the cession of lands another feature of these treaties deserves notice in connection with the railroad movement. In each of them there were clauses providing that in every case where the Indians were allowed to withhold any

[156] Report of Comm. of Ind. Affs. 1854. Sen. doc. No. 1. 2s. 33C. pp. 213–15. Pub. doc. No. 777. This document gives a report of the negotiations. Kappler, *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties.* II, pp. 451–78. Pub. doc. No. 4254. or U. S. Statutes gives the texts of the treaties and the dates.



MAP THREE.

Land to Which Indian Title Was Extinguished by 5 June, 1854

Land held by Indians by perpetual treaty guarantee. SOUTHERN COLONY.

Land held by government free from Indian title.

Land held by Indians by original title and without any perpetual guarantees. NORTHERN COLONY.

Land affected by Fort Laramie and Fort Atkinson treaties by which the Indians granted right of way for roads and military and other posts.

No DEI 76. MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

parts of their lands as reservations, all roads, highways, and railroads which might be constructed should have, when necessary, the right of way through such reservations. In other words railroad enterprises were not to be blocked in the future in any part of this country by the fact that the Indian title had not been extinguished. This group of treaties was the first to include definitely such concessions. The nearest to it had been the Laramie treaty and the Fort Atkinson treaty, both of which had secured recognition of the right to build roads through the Indian Country. It has been pointed out how in the latter treaty this provision had been purposely designed to allow of a broader interpretation should it be necessary in the future to permit the building of a railroad through the Indian Country to the Pacific.

Now all the difficulties which had been in the way of the organization of Nebraska were removed so far as the Indians were concerned. Practically all of the country included in the present state of Kansas and all of Nebraska south of the Platte, together with the eastern part of the state north of it, was ready for settlement. All of the above treaties save one had been concluded before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. They were the realization of the policy which was outlined by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1848 and urged continuously by the department for the six years following. That policy had been to group the Indians into two colonies, a northern and a southern, and to open the country between the two colonies to white settlement. The Indians were now arranged in the two great groups as planned. The southern group was located in what is now the state of Oklahoma, and the northern group comprised what is now the Dakotas.[157] The country between them in which the Indian title had been extinguished was now included, by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, in two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, and connected the east and the west in one continuous line of organized states and territories.

[157] The territory of Nebraska included all the territory from the fortieth parallel north to the international line, and thus included the northern group. However, this northern group was detached from Nebraska in 1861 when the Territory of Dakota was organized.

Eventually they were more closely bound together by the building of the Pacific railroad through this newly organized territory by the route of the Platte Valley and South Pass. To continue the figure used in the beginning, this was a third wedge driven through the Indian Country. It was to spread northward and southward in the near future until finally the last of the Indian Country was opened to white settlement and organized into states.

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AMERICAN INDIAN VERSE

Characteristics of Style

BY

NELLIE BARNES

Instructor in English
The University of Kansas

LAWRENCE, DECEMBER, 1921

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LAWRENCE, DECEMBER, 1921
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PREFACE

The recent discussion of Indian verse opened by Mr. Louis Untermeyer in the *Dial* of March 8, 1919[1], would have been interesting and diverting had it not become acrimonious. That Indian verse is the original *vers libre* is a debatable question, although Mrs. Austin gives the view her warm support[2]. Scholars agree that this verse is mnemonic. Perhaps the new school of poetry would make the same claim for *vers libre*. Whatever the form, the critic at least should understand the civilization shaping any literary product upon which he presumes to pass judgment. The large number of Indian languages forbids very wide knowledge of originals.[3] Acquaintance with customs and myths is possible, however, for one who is not a close student of Indian linguistics. The interweaving of each mnemonic fragment with a narrative perhaps as old as the race presents a problem to the student at every step in his research. This problem should not wholly discourage the reader of Indian poetry, for no literature which represents the life of a race can ever be of indifferent interest. Neither can such poetry be entirely clear to the white reader. Mr. Untermeyer has confessed his ignorance of Indian lore. As a critic, might he not have encouraged others to search out the spirit of a passing race? It seems unfortunate that he has left the real issue untouched in his last communication to the *Dial*.

In the light of these facts, it may appear inconsistent for the writer to offer even this tentative sketch of the characteristics of style without a discussion of Indian life and character. Since both these discussions are parts of a larger work nearing completion, it seems unnecessary to present any part of the latter in connection with this paper.

The verse here studied includes only forms preceding the influence of white men; at least forms showing no obvious influence of white men or of Christian teachings. No transla-

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[1] *The Dial*, Mar. 8, 1919, pp. 240-241; May 31, 1919, pp. 569-570; July 12, 1919, p. 30; Aug. 23, 1919, p. 163.

[2] Austin, Introduction: *The Path on the Rainbow* (ed. by Cronyn), p. XVI.

[3] Boas, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, p. 62.

tions into the Indian languages have, therefore, been considered. Wherever possible, the writer has made comparison of the free translations with literal translations and with glossaries. Errors may have found their way into this study in spite of this extreme care, but it is hoped that they are few.

Authenticity of material is frequently an open question. After reading the marriage song of Tikaens[4] with enthusiasm, the writer regretfully discarded it upon reading a full account of this hoax in a later volume by Dr. Brinton.[5] Apparently Mrs. Austin has not come upon the *exposé* of this fraud, or she would not have included this verse in her brief study of Indian poetry[6].

A problem greater than authenticity is that of finding a sufficient range of material to assure general characteristics. Although the sources for this paper are by no means inclusive, they cover the songs and rituals of twenty ethnic families, which represent all but one of the nine great culture areas in North America, north of Mexico—all but the Southeastern Area[7]. This analysis of seventeen thousand song lines is based on the poetic literature of fifty-six tribes, among them the greatest of the red race. So far as possible, the writer compared the studies of several translators of a given tribal literature before determining a characteristic.

The writer has been unable to make sharp distinctions between the verse of the American Indians of the far North and that of the Eskimo, as the two races seem to have largely parallel cultures, each centering in a cosmic belief.

Those who may wish to follow the study farther will find extensive translations in the ethnological publications of both our own and the Canadian government. The American Museum of Natural History, the Field Museum, the Peabody Museum, the University of California, the University of Pennsylvania, the American Folk-Lore Society, and the Amer-

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[4] Brinton, *Aboriginal American Authors*, pp. 48-49.

[5] Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist*, pp. 452-468.

[6] Austin, Introduction: *The Path on the Rainbow* (ed. by Cronyn), pp. XXVIII-XXX.

[7] Wissler, *The American Indian*, pp. 206-226.
See map in *Indians of the Plains*, p. 11.
Cf. Holmes, *Areas of American Culture; Anthropology in America*, pp. 42-76.

ican Anthropological Association, have made valuable collections and translations. The Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago, is particularly valuable. Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, Dr. Washington Matthews, Miss Alice C. Fletcher, Mrs. Natalie Curtis Burlin, Miss Frances Densmore, Mr. Frederick Burton, and Mr. Edward Curtis have done notable work in the field of Indian poetry and song. It is largely through the scholarship of such workers as these that this critical study has been made possible, although the investigation began independently some ten years ago when the writer spent a winter among the Chickasaw Indians.

It requires some courage to enter an untried field, especially when many have thought the venture a futile one. The writer is glad to express here her appreciation of the friendly counsel given her by Dr. Dunlap, Head of the English Department, and by Dr. Hopkins, Dr. Johnson, Dr. Whitcomb, and Dr. Burnham of the departmental committee on graduate work.

The University of Kansas, NELLIE BARNES.
Lawrence,
October 1, 1919.

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American Indian Verse

PART ONE: SHAPING FORCES

I SPIRIT[8]

The American Indians are the poets of the cosmos. To them, this faith is the great reality. Although their literature is related to their material culture, it is more intimately a part of their spiritual and artistic development. In this respect the shaping forces of Indian verse are much like those of all primitive verse, but their essential qualities are most significant in this particular verse. These elements, to be understood, must be studied in their relation to the cosmic motive.

From such a motive grew that fine poetic instinct for what is beautiful, that lifts and frees thought from time and circumstance. Other shaping forces of Indian poetry grew from that same source. To name them may set limits which this poetry never accepted. We should, therefore, consider that *spirit, observation, imagination, symbolism,* and *sense of beauty* are only tentative valuations of these forces.

The exalted feeling[9]—the high spirit of Indian verse—is indeed the dominant tone of this literature, reflecting the Red Men's self-reverence, their consciousness of personal worth in the great scheme of life. This feeling saves the simplest poems from absurdity. There are majesty and power in the exalted spirit of the Omaha ritual, the *Introduction of the Child to the Cosmos,*[10] and of the *Mountain Songs* of the Navahos[11]. The following passage is quoted from the Omaha ritual:

INTRODUCTION OF THE CHILD TO THE COSMOS

Ho! Ye Sun, Moon, Stars, all ye that
move in the heavens,
I bid you hear me!
Into your midst has come a new life.
Consent ye, I implore!
Make its path smooth, that it may reach
the brow of the first hill!

---

[8] Brinton, *Essays of An Americanist,* p. 304.

[9] Brinton, *Aboriginal American Authors,* p. 49.

[10] Fletcher, *The Omaha Tribe,* pp. 115-117.

[11] Curtis, *The Indians' Book,* pp. 350-356, 366-369.

Ho! Ye Winds, Clouds, Rain, Mist, all ye
that move in the air,
I bid you hear me!
Into your midst has come a new life.
Consent ye, I implore!
Make its path smooth, that it may reach
the brow of the second hill!

Ho! Ye Hills, Valleys, Rivers, Lakes,
Trees, Grasses, all ye of the earth,
I bid you hear me!
Into your midst has come a new life.
Consent ye, I implore!
Make its path smooth, that it may reach
the brow of the third hill!

Ho! Ye Birds, great and small, that fly
in the air,
Ho! Ye Animals, great and small, that
dwell in the forest,
Ho! Ye insects that creep among the
grasses and burrow in the ground—
I bid you hear me!
Into your midst has come a new life.
Consent ye, I implore!
Make its path smooth, that it may reach
the brow of the fourth hill!

Ho! All ye of the heavens, all ye of the
air, all ye of the earth:
I bid you all to hear me!
Into your midst has come a new life.
Consent ye, consent ye all, I implore!
Make its path smooth—then shall it travel
beyond the four hills!

There is less elevation in style, but a fine nobility and dignity of thought in the great body of Indian verse studied. It is a commentary on the sincerity of this verse that there is scant evidence of self-satisfaction or a holier-than-thou attitude. The spirit of a race that so preserved its nobility, must have been one of constant aspiration.

Another mood, and one less common, is that of reflection. Though there is a considerable body of wisdom-lore among the Indians, it has a relatively small place in their poetry. The phil-

osophy of life gathered up in their religion is largely the source of reflective poetry.

There are few fine examples of introspective poetry, and of these the subjective treatment is most striking in the *Death of Taluta,*[12] a lover's lament; in the *Wind Songs,*[13] expressing concern for absent loved ones; and in the shorter songs of invocation. Eastman has recorded the lover's lament:

DEATH OF TALUTA

(Siouan)

Ah, spirit, thy flight is mysterious!
While the clouds are stirred by our wailing,
And our tears fall faster in sorrow—
While the cold sweat of night benumbs us,
Thou goest alone on thy journey—
In the midst of the shining star people!
Thou goest alone on thy journey—
Thy memory shall be our portion;
Until death we must watch for the spirit.

There is a hint of reflection on a nature theme in this Eskimaun poem:

MOUNT KOONAK: A SONG OF ARSUT[14]

I look toward the south, to great Mount Koonak,
To great Mount Koonak, there to the south;
I watch the clouds that gather round him;
I contemplate their shining brightness;
They spread abroad upon great Koonak;
They climb up his seaward flanks;
See how they shift and change;
Watch them there to the south;
How one makes beautiful the other;
How they mount his southern slopes,
Hiding him from the stormy sea,
Each lending beauty to the other.

It is this reflection on the beauty and majesty of the nature world that Mackenzie considers the source of idealism in primitive peoples.[15] Perhaps this idealism so shapes the poetic instinct that it never loses itself in abstractions, but holds fast

[12] *Old Indian Days*, p. 32.

[13] Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, pp. 102, 223-225, 463.

[14] Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, pp. 68-69. See also Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist*, p. 290.

[15] Mackenzie, *Evolution of Literature*, p. 165.

to objective beauty in its interpretive nature poems.[16] *The Hako* gives some admirable interpretations of the life-giving power of the sun, the guidance of stars, and the motherhood of earth in these lines:

CHANT TO THE SUN[17]

I

Now behold; hither comes the ray of our father Sun; it cometh over all the land, passeth in the lodge, us to touch, and give us strength.

SONG TO THE PLEIADES[18]

Look as they rise, up rise
Over the line where sky meets the earth;
Pleiades!
Lo! They ascending, come to guide us,
Leading us safely, keeping us one;
Pleiades,
Us teach to be, like you, united.

SONG TO THE EARTH[19]

I

Behold! Our Mother Earth is lying here.
Behold! She giveth of her fruitfulness.
Truly, her power gives she us.
Give thanks to Mother Earth who lieth here.

III

Behold on Mother Earth the growing fields!
Behold the promise of her fruitfulness!
Truly, her power gives she us.
Give thanks to Mother Earth who lieth here.

V

Behold on Mother Earth the spreading trees!
Behold the promise of her fruitfulness!
Truly, her power gives she us.
Give thanks to Mother Earth who lieth here.

VII

Behold on Mother Earth the running streams!
Behold the promise of her fruitfulness!
Truly, her power gives she us.
Give thanks to Mother Earth who lieth here.

---

[16] Densmore, *Teton-Sioux Music*, p. 60; *Chippewa Music*, I, p. 110.

[17] Fletcher, *The Hako*, pp. 135-136, 326.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152, 330.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 163-168, 335.

A feeling of pathos and loneliness sometimes gives atmosphere to a poem. Grief is openly expressed—yet it is noteworthy that the melancholy mood does not temper the spirit of Indian song.

The predominance of affirmation[20] explains the absence of melancholy. Affirmation was the basis of achievement and of cure among many widely scattered tribes. The crier summoned the patient to healing with the words: "Come on the trail of song."[21] Through faith in the singing shaman's incantations, an ancient form of musico-therapy, the patient recovered his health and power.

There is *naiveté* in this ancient faith, and this quality is free from pose. The very dignity and reserve of the Indian nature refine it.

Humor is the most uncommon aspect of the spirit of Indian poetry. Though it is a comparatively modern spirit in all literature, with some notable exceptions, there is a slight strain of it in Indian song.[22] The taunting songs of the benedicts and bachelors are found in the southwest.[23] But the most extensive evidence of this quality is seen in the Eskimaun songs, especially in the *nith* songs.[24]

Even in summarizing these eight factors just presented, it is difficult to measure the spirit of Indian poetry as a shaping force. Its essence, through all its varied moods, is aspiration. This feeling gives direction, if not limitation, to the poetic instinct.

II OBSERVATION

We may further interpret the spirit of Indian poetry through the study of a second shaping force, observation. Here was range enough, on a rock-ribbed continent, with its cool

[20] Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians*, p. 207. Fletcher, *Indian Story and Song from North America*, pp. 81-85. Matthews, *The Night Chant*, pp. 69, 88, 146.

[21] Matthews, *op. cit.* p. 69.

[22] Fletcher, *A Study of Omaha Indian Music*, pp. 51-52.

[23] Lummis, *The Land of Poco Tiempo*, p. 112.

[24] Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, pp. 66-67. See also Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist*, pp. 287-288.

pine forests and lake waters, its broad sweep of prairies with their rivers and buffaloes on a thousand hills, its sunbeaten cactus reaches of the southwest—with vast spaces between tribes, giving the sense of isolation that closes in with night. In his environment, as in all other relationships, the Indian saw real values. His observation was true to nature objectively,[25] true to his own essential relationship to the nature world, and true to primal human experiences. Observe this description of the growth of the squash vine quoted by Matthews: "In one night it ripens, it grows." The source of a stream is described as "water in a chain of pools." The Pawnees and other tribes recognized the duality in nature. This power of observation was the eternal search for truth epitomized in a child faith.

III IMAGINATION[26]

Observation and imagination are accepted as determining influences of all poetry. In Indian verse, imagination takes on a spiritual quality. It aspires to a star as the symbol of a dream, and sees in the purple of the mist and of the smoke-wreath the presence of the soul. It has enriched the Indian's experience by the comprehension of beauty at every point at which he touches life. In his fancy, the Red Man sweeps the blue with eagle wings or swiftly journeys to the holy mountain on the path of the rainbow. In the Navaho *Night Chant*,[27] the Slayer of the Alien Gods strides from summit to summit among the mountains. Creation songs, especially, show an imaginative power of a high order. Then there are poems which rest the mind from following after gods and heroes of old times. These poems express a delicacy of imagination. This is, of course, a lesser phase; for this imaginative force usually directs the poet to the essential meaning of life, as in the recognition of a purposive Spirit in

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[25] *The Night Chant*, pp. 278, 292.
Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, pp. 97-98.

[26] See IMAGERY, below, p. 41, for illustrations of observation and imagination.

[27] Matthews, *The Night Chant*, p. 279. See also pp. 110, 143-145.

the universe. It "ranges beyond the immediate, deals with the vast in space or power."

The most characteristic trend of this third shaping force of Indian poetry is toward symbolism. One authority states: "Animism, or identifying imagination, by means of which ..... the primitive man .... transfers his own life into the unorganic or organic world, is one of the oldest and surest indications of poetic faculty, and as far as we can see, it is antecedent to the use of verbal images or symbols."[28]

IV SYMBOLISM

The study of symbolism in Indian diction, in bundles, and in similar records, is of no importance unless it opens the doors of our understanding and experience. To a white reader such study is imperative, although to the Indian little of his symbolism is esoteric.

We may trace this tendency of Indian thought to the universal experiences of men, chiefly to the religious impulse, as has been suggested at the beginning of our study. So extensive is its influence on Indian poetry that nothing which eye can see, or imagination picture, fails to render its full measure of service. In old verse, the idea is frequently lost in the symbol. In its extreme type, there is the symbol of the song that is never sung.[29]

The fundamental types of Indian symbolism in song include not less than fifteen to twenty forms. The bird[30]—as the eagle,[31] which typifies supreme control and other admirable qualities, the raven, and the hawk—is common to all tribes. The serpent[32] is the symbol of the lightning and of waters. Among some of the northern tribes the bear is used; and among the Eskimos, the fish is the motive of an entire ceremony. Wherever the fish or other animal is employed, we discover the native's observation of habits added to a supernatural element in the song or ceremony.

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[28] Bliss Perry, *A Study of Poetry*, p. 71.
[29] Densmore, *Chippewa Music*, II, pp. 247- 248.
[30] Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, pp. 120, 125-129.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 127.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 135.

Tree and water symbols are often found together. The tree[33] as a symbol of life and unity presents an inspiring image in Omaha song. Water is the emblem of purification among all peoples. This invocation is found in an Omaha *Sweat Lodge Ritual*:[34]

> Thou Water,
> Oh! Along the bends of the stream where the waters strike, and where the waters eddy, among the water mosses, let all the impurities that gall be drifted.

The sun,[35] moon, and star[36] symbols belong to all primitive tribes, and are so related to religious belief that many rituals center in them.

The cross[37] is a universal symbol, which may have originated from the worship of the points of the compass, or perhaps from a star symbol. The cardinal points have varied interpretations. Dorsey explains that the *east* represents life and its source.[38] Quite naturally, all rituals relating to sun-worship emphasize the songs to the dawn and to the sunset.[39] Mooney suggests, through interpretations of corresponding color symbols, these ideas among the Cherokees: *east* (red), a symbol of power; *south* (white), peace or happiness; *west* (black), death; *north* (blue), failure.[40] The tribes of the southwest have chosen different colors to represent these points. The Navahos, for instance, represent the *east* as the white dawn, the *south* as turquoise, the *west* as yellow, and the

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[33] Fletcher, *The Omaha Tribe*, p. 578. See also pp. 217, 251-261, 457. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, pp. 117-118.

[34] Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 578. See also her work, *The Hako*, pp. 302-303.

[35] Densmore, *Teton-Sioux Music*, p. 86. (Bibliography on this subject.) Troyer, *Hymn to the Sun; The Festive Sun Dance of the Zuñis; Invocation to the Sun-God.*

[36] Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, pp. 90, 163-165.

[37] Wissler, *The American Indian*, p. 201.

[38] Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 109.

[39] Troyer, *Traditional Songs of the Zuñi;* especially *Awakening at Dawn, The Sunrise Call or Echo Song, The Sunset Song.* (See p. 43.)

[40] Mooney, *Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees*, p. 342.

north as black.[41] These colors represent totally different tribal conceptions of the cardinal points. However varied in meaning, the cardinal points appear significant to all the tribes studied.

The winds personify divine power,[42] whether the four winds, or the Running Whirlwind.

Hills and mountains are favorite symbols the world around. The Omahas have presented life through four hills, "marking the stages of infancy, youth, manhood, and old age.[43] This passage is about as near to abstract reasoning as the Indian ever approaches, and is to be noted because it is unusual.

The important uses of color symbolism relate to significant elements in nature. The simplest form is an interpretation of night and day in terms of black and white.[44] The interpretation of the cardinal points is less elementary, as has been shown. The Zuñi represent the lightning as red, and the eyes of the gods as yellow.[45] The Navahos used a most extensive scheme of color symbolism in their *Night Chant*, and in all costumes and ritual accompaniments of this great ceremony.[46] The extent to which this type of symbolism prevails ranks it next to the primary type of sacred numbers.

The most complex symbolism is found in the group of mystic numbers associated with the sacred teachings and forms of repetition used by every tribe. Four is the most common number.[47] This may signify the four cardinal points. To some it meant the four worlds: above, below, middle, our own.[48] The multiple of four, sixteen, is the Pawnee symbol for complete-

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[41] Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, p. 351.
See also Densmore, *Chippewa Music*, I, p. 54; II, p. 261.
Matthews, *The Night Chant*, p. 5.

[42] Fletcher, *The Omaha Tribe*, pp. 120-121; *The Hako*, pp. 29,30, 59.
Curtis, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

[43] Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 116. See also SPIRIT, above, p. 9.

[44] Curtis, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

[45] Mackenzie, *Evolution of Literature*, pp. 234-236.

[46] Matthews, *The Night Chant*, pp. 5, 6, 9-29, 35, 53, 58, 67-97. See also his *Navaho Myths, Prayers and Songs*.

[47] Wissler, *The American Indian*, p. 201; Fletcher, *The Hako*, pp. 64, 94-97.

[48] Curtis, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

ness.[49] Other symbolical numbers are two, three, five, six, seven, ten, and forty-eight.[50]

Boas proposes an aesthetic origin from rhythmic repetition, rather than a religious origin, for the use of these numbers.[51] While this question of origin is important, we can only observe here the general association between these numbers and religious ceremonials, as well as the use in set patterns of repetition.[52] This second use is frequently bound up in the first, and has, in such instances, a distinctly religious significance.

These types of symbolism, revealing penetration of thought, directly shape the quality of conciseness and lend strength and beauty to Indian poetry.

V SENSE OF BEAUTY

The Indian, believing that "Tirawa is in all things,"[53] set real values on the nature world. With appreciation of value grew appreciation of beauty; for what men value must always set their standards of beauty. As the Flemish artist painted his pots and pans and stools in a homely kitchen, precisely because they were homelike, because they were essential to his way of life through long winters, so the Indian poet set to the measure of his song all simple things that gave him happiness, with those grand impressions and aspirations that shaped his idealism. It is to this fifth great shaping force, the recognition of beauty, that we must look for direction of the poetic impulse not only toward beauty of thought and image, but toward grace of phrase and symmetry of structure.

Geographical differences turn aesthetic observation to the

[49] Fletcher, *The Hako*, pp. 201, 298.

[50] Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, pp. 85,88.
Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, pp. 100-101, 352, 363.
Mackenzie, *Evolution of Literature*, p. 232.
Russell, *The Pima Indians*, pp. 272-339.
Wissler, *The Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians*, pp. 176-177, 192, 247-271.

[51] Boas, *Mythology and Folk-Tales of the North American Indians: Anthropology in North America*, p. 348.
Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, pp. 84, 88, 89, 91, 94, 95, 111, 112.

[52] Matthews, *The Night Chant*, pp. 277, 283.
Fletcher, *The Hako*, pp. 57, 94-97.

[53] Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 302.

stately in the north, and to lighter and more graceful forms in the south.[54] The Eskimo sings of his cloud-breasted mountain;[55] the Omaha, of winding streams where weeping willows dip their branches;[56] the Navaho, of flaming butterflies among the corn.[57]

Sensuous beauty is at its highest point in the songs of the southwest. The Hopi *Katzina Songs*[58] express a sense of pleasure in the graceful movement of butterfly maidens as they frolic in the corn-fields. Quieter in movement is the song of swaying cactus blossoms "far on the desert ridges," and the Paiute song of the wind in the grasses and willows.[59]

Vivid coloring is a daily experience of the tribes in that region as they scan canyon walls and desert reaches. The chiaroscuro of dawn and evening plays through their song-pictures, relieving the intensity of the high coloring.[60] Black clouds look down on green valleys and white alkali flats, while red and blue and yellow make their word paintings rich and gorgeous. Although the appreciation of color seems comparatively well developed among the southwestern tribes, it is, to a degree, a general quality of the aesthetic force operating in Indian poetry.

Beauty of sound entered much less frequently into the red man's artistic feeling than might be expected; for in his aboriginal days his ear was quick to note the stir of life about him. The bird song found him responsive as it did the Hebrew lyrist who sang of spring, "the time of the singing of birds is

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[54] Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, pp. 230-233, 350-359, 372-373.

[55] Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist*, p. 290.

[56] Fletcher, *The Omaha Tribe*, p. 578.

[57] Curtis, *Songs of Ancient America*. (Entire.)

[58] Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, pp. 483-486.
See also IMAGERY, below, p. 41.

[59] Cronyn, *The Path on the Rainbow*, p. 65, Song I.
Curtis, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

[60] Cronyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-76.
Curtis, *op. cit.*, pp. 200, 363, 373, 484-485, 487.
Matthews, *The Night Chant*, pp. 66-68, 143-144, 153, 245, 273-274, 276-278, 281, 283-284, 286, 288-289, 291-292, 301.
Navaho Myths, Prayers, and Songs, pp. 38-42, 45.
Russell, *The Pima Indians*, pp. 229, 245-246, 292-293, 299, 304, 308.
Voth, *The Oráibi Oáquöl Ceremony*, pp. 26-29, 30, 43-44.

come". These lines from the *Daylight Song* of the Navahos are in honor of the bluebird:

> Just at dawn *Sialia* calls.
> The bluebird has a voice . . . melodious,
> His voice beautiful, that flows in gladness.[61]

On the plains, the wind that blew around the tipi sang to the Indian huddled beside his fire.[62] In other regions, the mountain echoed sound for him,[63] and the voice of the thunder gave cheerful promise of rain.[64]

From these illustrations and from the discussion of IMAGERY,[65] it will be observed that the aesthetic principle expressed itself concretely. Emphasis on form and movement, light and shadow, color, sound, and that other notable detail of rhythmic repetition,[66] are only the outward signs of a responsive attitude toward beauty. This conception of beauty is further related to the concept of happiness. Indeed, the terms seem interchangeable in Navaho rituals. From this relationship of terms we may see how vital an influence the aesthetic sense exerted over Indian thought.

And now some one asks why there is no great Indian poetry, as we speak of great poetry, meaning Homer, or Dante, or Shakespeare—or even that host of lesser names still sure of lasting honor. The Indian poet had great themes. His work was dignified in treatment, and poetic in style. Beauty was round about him, and his imagination took hold upon it. Tremendous emotional forces, held in restraint, fired the poet's intensity. Certain canons of form were everywhere accepted. The singer was much honored; indeed all men had their own songs. What, then, was lacking to great poetry?

There are two possible answers. The first is that the genius of the red race found unique expression in social freedom. Their individualism was the fulfillment of a great social prin-

[61] Matthews, *The Night Chant*, p. 294.
[62] Cronyn, *The Path on the Rainbow*, p. 68.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.
[65] See below, p. 41.
[66] See REPETITION, below, p. 24.

ciple which recognized the unity of the tribe, as it recognized the unity of nature, but which gave to the Indian a freedom from political restraint known possibly in no other civilization. The lack of great Indian poetry, may, therefore, have been occasioned by the social order in Indian civilization, by a lack of discipline in individual life. This situation was complicated by the general lack of fixed centers of residence. The literatures studied give evidence that tribes, such as the Pueblos, occupying established areas, produced the greatest poetry.

We leave the unsettled problem of race psychology for a more obvious hindrance. The second condition, and the greater one, operating against the full achievement of the Indian poet was the lack of a written language flexible in form and meaning. Memory is limited even in the most exact keeper of songs and rituals. It is inconceivable that great poetry, as we know it, should ever be produced under these two conditions.

Rising above all obstacles here suggested, however, the great body of Indian poetry achieved much beauty, and power, and truth. The following study of characteristics of style seeks to present the qualities of this literature which make some claim to poetic art.

PART TWO: CHARACTERISTICS OF STYLE

I MONOTONY: VARIETY

Those unfamiliar with Indian verse frequently object to its monotony of expression. For this reason, the casual reader cannot be reminded too often that back of every song line there is a story which must be read into it by one outside the group of singers. Nor is this narrative element unique in Indian literature, if we accept the statement of Moulton that the nucleus of all creative literature is story.[67]

The sharp edge of the singer's experience cuts through the commonplaces of monotony in many of the one line songs which mean the least on first reading.[68] Here the student goes searching for the story.[69] Miss Fletcher records of the He-dhu'-shka Society, "Every song of the Society has its story which is the record of some deed or achievement of its members."[70]

Monotony growing out of repetition of theme and phrase frequently has an artistic purpose. In nearly all Indian verse, repetition implies movement as well as story. As suggested under SYMBOLISM, the number of repetitions may signify the steps in ceremonial procedure.[71] Again, movement may be an accompaniment, as in the *Corn Grinding Songs* of the Southwest.[72]

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[67] R. G. Moulton, *The Modern Study of Literature*, p. 335.

[68] A fuller discussion of this point may be found under mnemonic summary, below, p. 32, and suggestion, below, p. 32.

[69] Fletcher, *Story and Song from North America*, entire. Note especially the *Song of the Laugh*, pp. 8-14; *The Omaha Tribe*, p. 481.
See also:
Burton, *American Primitive Music*, pp. 163-164.
Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, p. 360-363.
Densmore, *Chippewa Music*, both parts; also her *Teton-Sioux Music*, entire.
Matthews, *The Night Chant*, p. 270.
Russell, *The Pima Indians*, pp. 245-246.

[70] *Story and Song from North America*, p. 13.

[71] See above, p. 15, for SYMBOLISM.

[72] Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, pp. 461-463, 430-432; *Corn Grinding Song*, p. 431.

CORN GRINDING SONG

Amitola tsina-u-u-ne
Elu, elu toma wahane
Kiawulokia pena wulokia.
Kesi liwamani
Hliton iyane!
Kesi liwamani
Hlapi hanan iyane!
Letewkan atowa
Awuwakia litla.
Hi yai-elu!

Translation:

Yonder, yonder see the fair rainbow,
See the rainbow brightly decked and painted!
Now the swallow bringeth glad news to your corn,
Singing, "Hitherward, hitherward, hitherward, rain,
Hither come!"
Singing, "Hitherward, hitherward, hitherward, white cloud,
Hither come!"
Now we hear the corn-plants murmur,
"We are growing everywhere!"
Hi, yai, the world, how fair!

The rhythm here is the rhythm of the worker over her metate, and the reader's sense of monotony gives way to appreciation of the spirit of one who images beauty to give lightness to her task. Yet so far as the principle of variety is concerned, the Indian vocational song bears favorable comparison with the English chantey.

Emphasis is another motive of monotony. The idea of the song is the center of the Indian singer's interest.[73] He employs repetition, not variation, therefore, as a necessary part of his technique in making his theme effective. "Reduplication in Dakota consists essentially in the doubling of the principal theme of the word."[74]

To be sure, the monotony is more apparent to the hearer

[73] Densmore, *Chippewa Music*, I, p. 2.
[74] Boas, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, p. 895.

and to the reader than to the singer. Repetition when sung is never so wearying as when heard or read. That it gives pleasure is evidenced by the current folk-songs of the white race. In all study of Indian verse, let it be remembered that *every line of this verse is chanted or sung* and should have qualities and form suited to chant or song.

Variety, though not a universal quality, is certainly to be recognized as an important element in the verse of the Pawnees, the Omahas, the Navahos, the Pueblos, and the Cherokees. Distinctive aspects of this element are found in *theme* and in *imagery*. One of the most striking examples of these phases of variety is *The Hako*,[75] though the songs of the Zuñi and the Navahos admit no rivalry. A literature which sweeps the uttermost limits of human experience has in its subject matter, alone, enough inherent variety to offset any degree of monotony in form. Even a superficial reader will concede this point to the verse of the American Indian.

II REPETITION[76]

The most obvious characteristic of Indian poetry is that of repetition—of syllable, word, phrase, line, and even stanza and song. It must not be thought, however, that it is used without artistry. It has, in fact, the most elaborate technique of any element in the style of Indian poetry. Dr. Brinton reduced it to two fundamentals, that of entire repetition and of partial repetition with refrain.[77] But these are only the beginnings of the Indians' art.

As in the old European ballad, incremental repetition may carry forward the action of the narrative.[78] In many instances, this form of repetition advances step by step a de-

[75] Fletcher, *The Hako* (a Pawnee ceremony).

[76] This discussion centers upon the types of repetition. Other phases of the subject, such as symbolism and interpretation are discussed under SYMBOLISM (see above, p. 15,) and MONOTONY (see above, p. 22.)

[77] Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist*, pp. 285-286.

[78] Fletcher, *The Omaha Tribe*, pp. 262-269; *The Hako*, pp. 43, 291; 50-51, 293-294; 74-75, 303-304; 82-85, 305-306; 118-134, 319-320.
Brinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-295.
Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, pp. 353-356, 370.

scription or an idea of the singer. In the *Song of the Hogans* this device develops, through stanza after stanza, pictures of sacred houses in the mythical dawn and sunset worlds.[79] *The Song of the Horse*, alluding to the horse of the Sun-God, also illustrates the ability of the poet to sustain the interest of his hearer while he builds stanza upon stanza of picturesque detail interphrased with verses resung:[80]

SONG OF THE HORSE

How joyous his neigh!
Lo, the Turquoise Horse of Hohano-ai,
How joyous his neigh,
There on precious hides outspread standeth he;
How joyous his neigh,
There on tips of fair fresh flowers feedeth he;
How joyous his neigh,
There of mingled waters holy drinketh he;
How joyous his neigh,
There he spurneth dust of glittering grains;
How joyous his neigh,
There in mist of sacred pollen hidden, all hidden he;
How joyous his neigh,
There his offspring may grow and thrive for evermore:
How joyous his neigh!

Equally fine are the *Song of the Rain-Chant* and the *War Song* describing the Flint Youth.[81] The first is given here entire:

SONG OF THE RAIN-CHANT

Far as man can see,
Comes the rain,
Comes the rain with me.

From the Rain-Mount,
Rain-Mount far away,
Comes the rain,
Comes the rain with me.

O'er the corn,
O'er the corn, tall corn,
Comes the rain,
Comes the rain with me.

[79] Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, pp. 356-358.

[80] Curtis, *op. cit.*, pp. 361-362. See also the section on IMAGERY, below, p. 41, which quotes from this song.

[81] Curtis, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-366.

'Mid the lightnings,
'Mid the lightning zigzag,
'Mid the lightning flashing,
Comes the rain,
Comes the rain with me.

'Mid the swallows,
'Mid the swallows blue
Chirping glad together,
Comes the rain,
Comes the rain with me.

Through the pollen,
Through the pollen blest,
All in pollen hidden
Comes the rain,
Comes the rain with me.

Far as man can see,
Comes the rain,
Comes the rain with me.

In the Pawnee *Ritual of the Dawn,* in the song of *The Morning-Star and the New-Born Dawn,* there is an unusual use of incremental repetition:[82]

THE MORNING STAR AND THE NEW-BORN DAWN

I

Ho-o-o-o!
H'Opirit rira risha;
H'Opirit rira risha;
H'Opirit rira risha;
H'Opirit rira risha.

II

Ho-o-o-o!
H'Opirit ta ahrisha;
H'Opirit ta ahrisha;
H'Opirit ta ahrisha;
H'Opirit ta ahrisha.

III

Ho-o-o-o!
Reshuru rira risha;
Reshuru rira risha;
Reshuru rira risha;
Reshuru rira risha.

[82] Fletcher, *The Hako,* pp. 128, 322-323. Cf. p. 123.

IV

Ho-o-o-o!
Reshuru ta ahrisha;
Reshuru ta ahrisha;
Reshuru ta ahrisha;
Reshuru ta ahrisha.

This song shows a graceful interlacing pattern in the relations between the first and third, and the second and fourth stanzas. This is one of the most artistic uses of this type that the writer has yet found. In another use, with some variations, incremental repetition suggests the movement of the story or action connected with the song. The labor songs are the most natural expression of this form. In all four adaptations of this type of repetition, the consciousness of the poet is clearly seeking to realize beautiful forms of song.

The interlacing verse patterns, aside from their use in incremental repetition, are usually simple. Alternation of lines is the pattern in the *Song of the World.*[83]

Less symmetrical and less pleasing is a more involved system of repetition found among the Pima Indians and some other tribes. Phrases and words are repeated at intervals, interwoven with other repetitions, the whole effect more intricate than a system of *ballade* rhymes. The *Crow Dance Song* of the Arapahos falls into the following system: *aababcdaaabcd.*[84]

Hesunani′ ho-hu,
Hesunani′ ho-hu,
  Bähinahnit-ti,
Hesunani′ ho-hu,
  Bähinahnit-ti,
Hesunani′ no!
A e-yo he-ye he-ye yo!
  Ho-hu,
Hesunani′ ho-hu,
Hesunani′ ho-hu,
  Bähinahnit-ti,
Hesunani′ no!
A e-yo he-ye he-ye yo!

[83] Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, p. 316.
[84] *Ibid.*, pp. 209-210.

It certainly seems impossible that such elaborate schemes were accidental, since there are so many illustrations of their use.

The simpler forms of repetition are, of course, universal. Iteration links thought fragments; hence it becomes a conscious literary device for unity. A double repetition, that is, repetition of the story-phrase and of the burden,[85] occurs in the *Song of the Wren.*[86] The two parts are sung together several times. This is, to be sure, a one verse song, and one verse songs invariably call for repetition. The distinction here is that repetition does not emphasize the burden, or refrain. Reduplication is another simple form of repetition that seems to be used extensively.[87] It consists in repeating the syllable: the stem, for emphasis; sometimes the last syllable, when the purpose is to complete the measure.[88]

As has been observed in the discussion of SYMBOLISM, the number of repetitions has a distinct significance to the Indian mind, however accidental it may appear to the casual reader. One ritual or ceremonial may call for four repetitions, as in *The Hako* and some songs of the southwest. Five, six, seven, and eight repetitions are common.[89]

These are the general types of repetition in Indian song. After a fashion, they approximate rhyme in verse in which that element is lacking. In addition to Brinton's fundamentals, there are, then, the four forms of incremental repetition, alternating repetition, the repetition-complex,[90] and reduplication.

Since refrain has so important a place, it has been reserved for a more extended discussion here. It may be used by the chorus, by the soloist, or by *ensemble.* So universal a form of

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[85] See definition of *burden*, below, p. 29, footnote 91.

[86] Fletcher, *The Hako*, p. 171.

[87] See also POETIC DICTION, below, p. 38.

[88] Fletcher, *Indian Story and Song from North America*, p. 95; *The Hako*, p. 39, l. 73.

[89] Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7, 36-37, 54-55; *The Hako*, pp. 64-66. 54-55; *The Hako*, pp. 64-66.
Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians*, p. 271.

[90] This term is an arbitrary name chosen by the writer for the system of repetition which approximates the intricacy of the rhyme system in many forms of Old French verse.

repetition is the refrain that it is an integral part of most Indian songs. With it is occasionally a burden,[91] as in some of the Navaho songs.[92] With corresponding effects, some songs repeat the prelude at the opening of each stanza.[93] The form and purpose of the refrain and burden are varied. For emphasis one song may repeat a simple theme-refrain continuously until the close of the song or ceremony of which it is a part.[94] Usually this is a repetition of the opening line of the song. Another may use the last word of a line as the burden for all the following verses; hence this burden becomes the characteristic reiteration of the song.[95] In a song-sequence, a definite word-refrain is sometimes characteristic of the whole group.[96] The prelude and refrain may employ identical phrasing; and, infrequently, the burden may correspond to them.[97] Contrasted with this purpose which emphasizes a special theme or word is that which seeks appropriate or pleasing effects only, in the purely interjectional refrain.[98]

Emphasis may join with beauty in refrain, as in this Zuñi song, *The Coyote and the Locust*:[99]

Tchumali, tchumali, shohkoya,
Tchumali, tchumali, shohkoya,
Yaamii heeshoo taatani tchupatchiute
Shohkoya,
Shohkoya!

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[91] Although the terms *refrain* and *burden* are used interchangeably in criticism, it will be found convenient to distinguish the repetition which follows the stanza and that which reiterates a verse ending, as the verbal element which stands as a distinct part of the line structure. When both these forms occur in the same song, the first type will be called the *refrain*, and the second the *burden*.

[92] Matthews, *The Night Chant*, pp. 271, 274, 275, 276, 296; *Navaho Myths, Prayers, and Songs*, pp. 37-47, 51-54.

[93] Matthews, *The Night Chant*, pp. 275, 277.

[94] Cringan, *Pagan Dance Songs of the Iroquois*, p. 170.
Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, pp. 255, 352, 370.

[95] Fletcher, *The Omaha Tribe*, pp. 442-446.
Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist*, p. 289.
Matthews, *Navaho Myths, Prayers, and Songs*, pp. 45-56.

[96] Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-380.

[97] Matthews, *The Night Chant*, pp. 273, 279, 283.

[98] Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians*, p. 264.

[99] Cushing, *Zuñi Folk Tales*, p. 255.

Translation:

Locust, locust, playing a flute,
Locust, locust, playing a flute!
Away up above on the pine-tree bough,
Closely clinging,
Playing a flute,
Playing a flute!

The *Mountain Song* of the Navahos loses nothing of its exalted feeling in its alternating refrain:[100]

Thither go I!
Chief of all mountains,
Thither go I,
Living forever,
Thither go I,
Blessings bestowing.
Thither go I,
Calling me "Son, my son."
Thither go I.

Through all these varied forms of refrain, the aesthetic principle of repetition works toward artistic recurrence of sound and accentuation of rhythm.

III CONCISENESS

Conciseness is a primary characteristic growing out of the Indian's concentration of thought. Burton observes: "The most striking feature of Ojibway verse is its extraordinary compactness." [101] The quantity of facts to be condensed seems never to embarrass the Indian composer. Give him the creation of the world, its cosmology, a race of culture heroes, the traditional history of his people, and their religious philosophy, and he will set down the whole of it—from the dawn of time to the coming of the white men—in some two hundred lines, with poetic bits of description for good measure.[102] Take, for instance, some of the passages in the *Walam Olum*, which is approximately of this length:[103]

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[100] Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, p. 352.

[101] Burton, *American Primitive Music*, p. 146.
See also Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist*, p. 341.

[102] Brinton, *The Walam Olum: The Lenâpé and their Legends*, pp. 169-218. (Prose translation.)

[103] *Ibid.*, Canto I, ll. 3-12.

At first, forever, lost in space, everywhere,
the great Manito was.
He made the extended land and the sky.
He made the sun, the moon, the stars.
He made them all to move evenly.
Then the wind blew violently, and it cleared,
and the water flowed off far and strong.
And groups of islands grew newly, and there
remained.
Anew spoke the great Manito, a manito to manitos,
To beings, mortals, souls and all,
And ever after he was a manito to men and
their grandfather.[104]

So much for creation! But we may see how fair those days were at the dawn of the world in this one-line sketch of the Indian's Eden:

All had cheerful knowledge, all had leisure, all thought in gladness.[105]

Almost as brief as the story of creation is that of the great flood and the scattering abroad of the tribes. Then follows a catalog of chiefs, with their deeds of fame. Here and there are landscapes inviting our view:[106]

.... the great Spruce Pine land was toward the shore.
At the place of caves, . .they at last had food on a
pleasant plain.

* * * * * * * * * *

A great land and a wide land was the east land,
A land without snakes, a rich land, a pleasant land.

These two lines involve a history of civilization and the stories of great migrations:

They separated at Fish river; *the lazy ones remained there.*[107]

* * * * * * * * * *

All the cabin fires of that land were disquieted, and all said to their priest, "Let us go."[108]

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[104] Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, p. 10: "Grandfather is a title of respect or reverence for any old man."

[105] Brinton, *The Walam Olum*, Canto I, l. 20.

[106] *Ibid.*, Canto IV. ll. 13, 29; Canto V, ll. 21, 22.

[107] *Ibid.*, Canto IV, l. 49. (The italics are the writer's.)

[108] *Ibid.*, Canto III, l. 8.

Here we have the broad sweep of tribal movement, and the understanding of group consciousness and activity. Such compactness gives power to the classic poetry of any race, for it combines breadth and depth.

Although the *Walam Olum* is the best illustration of conciseness the writer has yet found among the longer poems, even the longest bear distinct evidence of this quality. Conciseness is, of course, as essentially a quality of lyric verse as it is of the epic and dramatic types. It is in the warp and woof of every Indian song fabric. In rituals, it is usually a conscious development, since the keepers are inclined to keep the meaning hidden from the uninitiated. This is the old story of rituals, but here the motive seems in part a worthy one—"To guard the full meaning from the careless," as Miss Fletcher suggests.[109]

The poet achieves his effect by means of several devices: bare narrative, as is found on the whole in the *Walam Olum;* or allusion—the use of suggestion by association or implication, involving the whole range of tribal custom and belief. Minor devices include elision, suppression of verbs, and the use of exclamatory forms.

Suggestion through association is a common form of allusion. By such means is traditional history kept before the people. This suggestive power of words "to carry the memory of the act which the song commemorates" is known as *mnemonic summary.* It is second only to repetition as an essential characteristic of style in Indian verse. It is the hidden force that gives direction to the song. "Frequently a single word referred to a known tribal ceremony or recalled a tribal teaching or precept, so that to the Omaha the word was replete with meaning or significance."[110] Matthews points out: "Another difficulty with Navaho songs is that, without explaining, they often allude to matters which the hearers are supposed to understand. They are not like our ballads—

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[109] Fletcher, *The Hako,* pp. 170-172, 366. See also the discussion in her *Story and Song from North America,* p. 30.

[110] Fletcher, *The Omaha Tribe,* p. 470. See also p. 479; *The Hako,* p. 365. Densmore, *Chippewa Music,* I, p. 15.

they tell no tales. He who would comprehend them must know the myths and ritual customs on which they are based."[111] The line, "My door is warm in winter," means little to a white reader, but heard by the Ojibway wandering far from his tepee through winter snows in search of game, the words meant a customary invitation to food and cheer by a stranger's fire.[112]

Some lines in *The Hako* will show how difficult is the task of the translator in undertaking to give the full idea of an Indian ritual to a reader of an alien race. Even to approximate the meaning of the mnemonic phrasing requires extensive additions to the lines.[113]

Line 1361
Hiri! Riru tziraru; rasa ruxsa pakara ra witz
pari; hiri! tiruta; hiri! ti rakuse tararawa hut,
tiri.

Line 1364.
Hiri! Rirutziraru; sira waku rarisut: hiri!
tiruta; hiri! Tirawa, ha! tiri.

Line 1365
Hiri! Riru tziraru; Rararitu, kata witixsutta,
Rakiris takata wi tixsutta.
Rakiris tarukux pa, raru tura tuka wiut tari.

Literal translation:

Line 1361

hiri!, harken!

rirú tziraru, by reason of, by means of, because of. The word has a wide significance and force throughout the ritual.

rasa, the man stood.

rŭxsa, he said or did.

pakará ra, a loud call or chant, sending the voice to a great distance.

witz, from tawitz'sa, to reach or arrive.

pari, traveling. These five words tell of a religious rite performed by the leader. The first two refer to his going to a

[111] Matthews, *The Night Chant*, p. 270.

[112] Burton, *American Primitive Music*, p. 221.

[113] Fletcher, *The Hako*, pp. 272-273 (text), 274-276 (literal translation), 364-368 (free translation).

solitary place to fast and pray, seeking help and favor from the powers above; the last three describe his voice, bearing his petition, traveling on and on, striving to reach the abode of Tiráwa.

hiri! harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti ruta, special or assigned places, referring to the places where the lesser powers dwell, these having been assigned by Tira wa atius, the father of all.

hiri!, harken! a call for reverent attention.

ti rakŭse, sitting; present tense, plural number.

tararawá hut, the sky or heavens. It implies a circle, a great distance, and the dwelling place of the lesser powers, those which can come near to man and be seen or heard or felt by him.

tiri, above, up there, as if the locality were designated by pointing upward.

Free translation:

Line 1361

Hearken! And whence, think ye, was borne
Unto these men courage to dare,
Strength to endure hardship and war?
Mark well my words, as I reveal
How the gods help man's feebleness.
The Leader of these warriors was a man
Given to prayer. Oft he went forth
Seeking a place no one could find.
There would he stand, and lift his voice
Fraught with desire, that he might be
Invincible, a bulwark 'gainst all foes
Threatening his tribe, causing them fear.
Nighttime and day this cry sped on,
Traveling far, seeking to reach—
Hearken! Those places far above—
Hearken! Within the circle vast
Where sit the gods, watching o'er men.

Line 1364

Hearken! And thus it was the prayer
Sent by this man won the consent
Of all the gods. For each god in his place
Speaks out his thought, grants or rejects
Man's suppliant cry, asking for help;

But none can act until the Council grand
Comes to accord, thinks as one mind,
Has but one will, all must obey.
Hearken! The council gave consent—
Hearken! And great Tirawa, mightier than all.

Line 1365

Hearken! To make their purpose known,
Succor and aid freely to give,
Heralds were called, called by the Winds;
Then in the west uprose the Clouds
Heavy and black, laden with storm.
Slowly they climbed, dark'ning the skies;
While close on every side the Thunders marched
On their dread way, till all were come
To where the gods in stately Council sat
Waiting for them. Then, bade them go
Back to the earth, carrying aid
To him whose prayer had reached their circle vast.
This mandate given, the Thunders turned toward earth
Taking their course slantwise the sky.

Implication is a more subtle form of suggestion than association. Take, for instance, the widely known Omaha *Tribal Prayer:*[114]

Wakonda dhe-dhu wapa dhin a-ton-he!
Wakonda dhe-dhu wapa dhin a-ton-he!

Translation:

Father, a needy one stands before thee.
That one is I.

No interminable list of needs dulls the clear cry of the suppliant. The prayer is an expression not only of faith in Wakonda's power to help, but also of an equal faith in his power to understand human needs. More direct in its implication is the Cheyenne song of victory, sung as the warriors retire from the field, leaving the enemy slain:

Wolves
In the dawnlight
Are eating![115]

[114] Fletcher, *The Omaha Tribe*, pp. 128-132; *Indian Story and Song from North America*, pp. 26-30.

[115] Curtis, *Mr. Roosevelt and Indian Music, The Outlook*, vol. 121, p. 400.

Implication is least subtle in some of the satirical or humorous verse. Two one-line songs from the Ojibways tell their own stories even to a different civilization, for it here appears that white men and red men meet on the ground of common experience. "Better stand off or you will crush my feathers" is, of course, the song of a vain man who resents the crowding to look at his finery.[116] We may easily deduce the cause of cynicism from this song by a chieftain's daughter: "You can't believe what the men say!"[117]

Before leaving the discussion of allusion, we may consider, by way of digression, some secondary values of this element in the verse. Allusion serves not only as a means of weaving story into song, but as a means of ornamenting it with a rich and gorgeous pattern of embroidery. Allusions to other arts than poetry, such as hand-print decoration on a garment, are incidental.[118] The rich background is of nature allusion[119]—to mountain, forest, and stream, to clouds, night skies, pleasant corn lands colored with blossoms and wild life—a background which throws into relief the tapestried stories of mythical heroes [120] and men of ancient fame.[121]

The suppression of verbs is another device for conciseness

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[116] Burton, *American Primitive Music*, p. 271.

[117] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

[118] Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, p. 357: "Built of broidered robes . . . standeth his hogan." See also pp. 368, 432.
Matthews, *Navaho Myths, Prayers, and Songs*, pp. 27, 41.
Russell, *The Pima Indians*, p. 281.

[119] Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist*, pp. 289-290; *The Lenâpé and their Legends*, pp. 187, 189, 191, 197.
Curtis, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116, 302, 341, 361-362, 365, 370, 430-431.
Cushing, *Zuñi Folk Tales*, pp. 237, 426.
Fletcher, *The Hako*, pp. 73-74, 82, 84, 128, 151.

[120] Allusions to deities and mythical heroes are general.
Barbeau, *Wyandot and Huron Mythology*, pp. 318-320.
Brinton, *The Lenâpé and their Legends*, pp. 173, 177.
Fletcher, *The Hako*, pp. 77-78, 128; *Indian Story and Song from North America*, pp. 28-29, 66-67, 110-111, 112-113.
Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

[121] Densmore, *Chippewa Music*, II, p. 294.
Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, pp. 129-139.
Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

to which the Indian poet occasionally resorts. The resulting sentence fragments in Navaho songs form a series of hastily sketched pictures:

> In the house of evening light.[122]
> In old age wandering. [123]
> Now Day Bearer's beam of blue.[124]
> Dark fog door posts.[125]

As a sustained example of this method, the *Waking Song* of the Navahos is exceptional.[126] There is no verb indicated in the entire song, which is forty lines in length, except in the prelude and burden. On close grammatical analysis the burden appears to carry the body of the sentence, but in the verse analysis the first part of the line falls into a distinct section. The whole effect is to leave the first part of the line without sentence structure; hence the vivid sequence of word pictures.

Among the shorter songs, Elson records a noteworthy example of verb-suppression:

> Friends—rocks—always firm—forward.[127]

Elision is a simple device, and would be of little note, were it not for the common use of compound words in Indian languages. Here the practice of omitting many syllables in forming the compound becomes a decided factor in securing concise form.[128] In the line "*Ki rura-a, ki rura-a hi,*" for instance, *hi* is a part of the word *arushahi.*

More effective than the two methods of conciseness just considered are the exclamatory forms, shot through as they are with varied feelings, as in the song of Ukiabi:[129]

> I am walking to and fro!
> I can find nothing which can heal my sorrow.

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[122] Matthews, *Navaho Myths, Prayers, and Songs*, pp. 29, 38.
[123] *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 44.
[124] *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 60.
[125] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[126] Matthews, *The Night Chant*, pp. 283-286.
[127] Elson, *History of American Music*, p. 132.
[128] Fletcher, *The Hako*, pp. 146, 365.
[129] Dorsey, *The Cegiha Language*, p. 611.

IV POETIC DICTION

The poet of any land must be the master of his own tongue. Diction is his instrument in a far more subtle way than any other element of style. While the Indian of a northern night rocks himself to sleep with the sensuous beauty of song, the poet may steal in upon his thoughts with whatever motive he will—such is the power and beauty of the poet's word.

Among those Indian words which stir the imagination are, first of all, epithets, which recall old Saxon verse in such expressions as *evening-red, land-edge,* and *shield-house.*[130] This device has been discussed more at length under IMAGERY and will be found considered in any study of the composite words which characterize Indian languages. It is enough for our purpose here to note that Indian poetry made wide use of these most effective word-phrases.

Indicative of a more highly developed stage of art than that which coined epithets is the use of purely poetic diction.[131] Words of the daily speech often discarded their usual meanings and expressed thoughts unique in the song diction. Here one must follow interpretations of men who have given lifelong study to Indian thought and custom. It is difficult for one of the white race to dissociate a word from meanings common to his own tongue. But one's feeling about the whole body of Dakota poetry is completely changed when it is understood, for instance, that *buffalo* holds a hidden poetic feeling for the song-maker. To call a Dakota a *buffalo man* was to compliment him in the highest degree; for the buffalo meant food and shelter and raiment—life, itself—to the Indian of the plains.

Exclusive of such words with meaning richer than in prose are those which have no place at all in Indian prose—words which the poet claims for use in his art alone.[132] Mr. Sapir touches on some special points in song diction in his discussion

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[130] Russell, *The Pima Indians,* pp. 302, 303, 336.
Brinton, *The Lenâpé and their Legends,* pp. 193-217.

[131] Fletcher, *The Hako,* p. 365.
Riggs, *Dakota Songs and Music: Táh-koo Wah-kán,* p. 453.
Sapir, *Abnormal Types of Speech in Nootka,* pp. 11-12.

[132] Riggs, *op. cit.,* p. 474.

of consonantal and vocalic play: "Song texts often represent a mutilated form of the language, but study of the peculiarities of song forms generally shows that the normal forms of speech are modified according to definite stylistic conventions, which may vary for different types of songs. Sometimes sounds are found in songs which do not otherwise occur in the language. Of particular interest in this connection is the fact that such special song-sounds (Paiute *l*, Nootka *l* and *n*) are, at least so it would seem, pronounced by Indians with difficulty under ordinary circumstances."[133]

If the student has an historical point of view, a third phase of diction, the old forgotten words that cling to living language, will interest him. Long after they have been discarded from common speech, he will find them in Indian poetry.[134]. There the old words linger on, though the learned men of the tribe have forgotten their use.[135] They fill out a measure of some treasured song, and so remain, like the Cumaean sibyl, a voice without a body.

The preservation of archaic diction is more readily accounted for when a comparative study reveals the wide use of vocables for no other reason than to fill out the measure.[136] A singer must sing the vocable—an Elizabethan, his *hey nonny nonny;* an American Indian, his *a he o* or *wi hi na*—when words do not step to the rhythm. This characteristic of diction is common to all the Indian song collections which the writer has studied. Often an entire song is composed of vocables, especially a song belonging to one of the less developed tribes.[137] In discussing this question with the writer, Mr. Arthur Nevin stated his theory that all genuine Indian songs were made up in this fashion, as many of the Blackfoot

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133 Sapir, *Abnormal Types of Speech in Nootka*, pp. 11-12.

134 Mackenzie, *Evolution of Literature*, pp. 90, 234.

135 Burton, *American Primitive Music*, p. 165.
Elson, *History of American Music*, p. 125.
Matthews, *The Night Chant*, pp. 152, 269.
Mooney, *Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees*, pp. 343-344.

136 Fletcher, *The Hako*, p. 65, ll. 180-193; p. 71, ll. 225-229, 231-235; p. 81, l. 293; p. 83, l. 312.

137 Fletcher, *The Omaha Tribe*, pp. 593-594.

songs are today. There is another point of view possible—that these syllables which complete rhythm, or give beauty and tone color to a poem, may, after all, be fragments of archaic speech or of specialized song diction.

At this point the linguist draws one aside with his study of word-structure. The ingenuity of compounding subject with verb and object, with sometimes an adjective or an adverb syllable interpolated, is an interesting topic for an investigation. The outstanding characteristic of word-building in many Indian languages, polysynthesis or incorporation of holophrastic compounds, has been discussed at length by many noted students of linguistics.[138] Although nearly a century has passed since Humboldt explained the origin of incorporation as the *exaltation of the imaginative over the intellectual elements of mind,* his philosophy is still of interest.[139] Alluring as is the philosophy of language, this study of composite words must end, on the art side, with the study of conciseness.

There should be, however, passing consideration of one unique feature of Indian word-structure in verse, the reduplication of syllables. The poet employs this scheme both for rhythm and for emphasis. Grammatical reduplications, as those for plurals or diminutives, have less interest for the student of style.

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[138] Boas, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, I, p. 75.
Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist*, pp. 320-323, 340-342, 344, 349-389. (The *Essays* review studies by Humboldt and Duponceau.)
Cf. Jane Ellen Harrison, *Aspects, Aorists, and the Classical Tripos.* Cambridge Univ. Press. 1920. Quoted in *Modern Languages*, vol. I, no. 6, pp. 182-186.
Hanns Oertel, *Lectures on the Study of Language.* Scribner's, 1902. See p. 289.
T. G. Tucker, *Introduction to the Natural History of Language*, Blackie, 1908. See pp. 78, 87, 152-156.
W. D. Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language.* Scribner's, 1898. See pp. 348-349.
Illustrations:
Fletcher, *The Hako*, p. 179.
Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, pp. 149-150.
Russell, *The Pima Indians*, pp. 37, 272-273, 284, 289, 293, 294, 300.

[139] Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist*, p. 340.

V IMAGERY

It is inconceivable, to one who has known an Indian tribe well, that any people with such quick observation, imagination, and such certain appreciation of beauty should fail to express these qualities in their literature in rich variety. So distinct, indeed, is the characteristic of imagery in Indian song that the fact far exceeds the expectation of the student. The statements of two well known critics of Indian music are, therefore, open to protest.

The first is that "Indian verse... is... unembellished by metaphor or any other trick of the imagination with which civilized poets enhance their expressions."[140] The Chippewa tribe, of all the tribes studied by the writer, has possibly the least picturesque song-literature. Yet many lines from their songs show a quickly responsive sense-consciousness, with sometimes a studied art.[141]

The second statement on the monotony of figure is equally beside the mark.[142] Miss Curtis's collection of songs in the *Indians' Book* must answer any such observations with finality, should the following discussion leave the reader unconvinced. For the subject should be considered in a broad way before we turn to extended illustrations.

Let us look into the sources of imagery. This quality in Indian song is the product of an age-old cosmic feeling. The Indian's observation, aesthetic sense, and vigor of thought shape the image to his need—a direct picture, a comparison, or a contrast. There is rarely the depth of introspection, but rather a reflection of the external factors of circumstance and experience. There is beauty, without the excess of luxury.

The influences of geography, especially of topography, give distinct coloring. So, also, do the mode of life and the tribal occupations and enterprises. So true is the imagery to its sources that one might venture a history of a tribe, from its migrations to its rituals, upon a study of its verse imagery alone.

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140 Burton, *American Primitive Music*, p. 153.

141 Densmore, *Chippewa Music*, Parts I and II.

142 Elson, *The History of American Music*, p. 126.

This characteristic is, indeed, an inheritance from the beginnings of all poetry; for primitive man had seeing eyes and hearing ears. Perhaps the earliest survival of those far-off myth-making times is the figure of personification. We may identify it as the earliest trace of the poetic faculty, for it animated the nature world with form, soul, and feeling. Canticles to the sun, with their use of this figure, are among the first songs of those remote years. A wider use of comparison in metaphor finds its largest application in epithet and name. Direct contrast is less common, although it is frequently implied. Sense imagery, comparison, contrast—these are the general types of imagery in Indian verse. It is not the particular purpose of this discussion to draw finer distinctions.

Sense imagery is the readiest adornment of poetry. The songs of the Southwest are richest in this quality, though eastern songs are by no means without it. Some picturesque touches in the *Walam Olum* have already been quoted.[143] They can be multiplied, line upon line, even in that short epic. Concreteness will be noted by the reader as a distinctive quality of sense imagery.

This *Katzina* song of the Hopi Indians catches all the light, and color, and sound of life in a sunny land that thirsts for rain:

KOROSTA KATZINA TAWI[144]

I

Yellow butterflies
Over the blossoming virgin corn,
With pollen-painted faces
Chase one another in brilliant throng.

II

Blue butterflies
Over the blossoming virgin beans,
With pollen-painted faces
Chase one another in brilliant streams.

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[143] See CONCISENESS, above, p. 30.

[144] Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, pp. 484-485.

III

Over the blossoming corn,
Over the virgin corn
Wild bees hum;
Over the blossoming corn
Over the virgin beans
Wild bees hum.

IV

Over your field of growing corn
All day shall hang the thunder-cloud;
Over your field of growing corn
All day shall come the rushing rain.

Much like the open-air pictures of the preceding song are some lines from the *He-hea Katzina Song*:[145]

Corn-blossom maidens
Here in the fields....
Fields all abloom,
Water shining after rain,
Blue clouds looming above.

The San Carlos Apache *Songs of the Deer Ceremony*[146] hint of delectable taste and odors:

At the south
Where the white shell ridges of the earth lie,
Where all kinds of fruit are ripe,
We two will meet.

From there where the coral ridges of the earth lie,
We two will meet.
Where the ripe fruits are fragrant,
We two will meet.

These lines from the Pima songs show a type of imagery without the lightness and grace of that in the Hopi songs:

FESTAL SONG[147]

The bright dawn appears in the heavens;
The bright dawn appears in the heavens;
The paling Pleiades grow dim.
The moon is lost in the rising sun.

[145] Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, p. 485.

[146] Goddard, *Myths and Tales from the San Carlos Apache*, p. 62.

[147] Russell, *The Pima Indians*, p. 284.
(Bright dawn—literally, the shining morning.)

SWALLOW SONG[148]

(A song for fiestas)

Now the Swallow begins his singing.....
.. The Swallows met in the standing cliffs...
And the rainbows arched above me,
There the blue rainbow arches met.

GAME SONG[149]

The drunken butterflies sit
With opening and shutting wings.

CURE SONG[150]

Bluebird drifted at the edge of the world,
Drifted along upon the blue wind.
White wind went down from his dwelling
And raised dust upon the earth.

BADGER SONG[151]

The shadow of Crooked Mountain,
The curved and pointed shadow.

The translator's adaptation of the following song loses much of the beauty implied in the literal translation. For this reason, the literal phrasing is given, disconnected as it is:

BADGER SONG[152]

Quails small—evening glow arrives—slowly fly—
Darkness stripped crown throws on.

Sound imagery is infrequent, but even more interesting than some picture adornments of Indian verse.[153] The Pima songs are full of movement and sound. The *Emergence Songs* which follow the Flood legend in Pima mythology suggest Hebrew imagery:

We all rejoice! We all rejoice!
Singing, dancing, the mountains rumbling.[154]

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[148] Russell, *The Pima Indians*, p. 292.

[149] *Ibid.*, p. 300.

[150] *Ibid.*, p. 303.

[151] *Ibid.*, p. 322.

[152] *Ibid.*, p. 322.

[153] Densmore, *Chippewa Music*, I, pp. 68, 69.

[154] Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 227, 280.
(Literal translation: The land trembles with our dancing and singing.)

WIND SONG[155]

Wind's house is now thundering.
I go roaring over the land,
The land covered with thunder.

SWALLOW SONG[156]

In the West the Dragonfly wanders,
Skimming the surfaces of the pools,
Touching only with his tail. He skims
With flapping and rustling wings.
* * * * * * * * * * *
Thence I run, the darkness rattling,
Wearing cactus flowers in my hair.
Thence I run as the darkness gathers,
In fluttering[157] darkness to the singing place.

BADGER SONG[158]

There came a Gray Owl at sunset
Hooting softly around me...
The land lay quietly sleeping.

The *Mouse Song* suggests sound without presenting it:

Wings of birds invisible
Are now fluttering above you.
You stand with face uplifted
And quietly listen there.

In the Navaho *Song of the Horse,* imaginative power heightens the sensuous beauty. The song pictures the Sun-God's courser in the pastures of another world:

Lo, the Turquoise Horse of Johano-ai, ...
On precious hides outspread standeth he...
There on tips of fresh flowers feedeth he; ...
There he spurneth dust of glittering grains.[160]

Imaginative, too, are these descriptions of the sacred hogans[161] of the Sun God—a series of beautiful pictures set in refrains:

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[155] Russell, *The Pima Indians,* p. 324.
[156] *Ibid.,* p. 294.
[157] *Fluttering* may be more literally translated as *rattling.*
[158] Russell, *op. cit.,* p. 321.
[159] *Ibid.,* p. 314.
[160] Curtis, *The Indians' Book,* p. 362. See also REPETITION, above, p. 24.
[161] *Hogan* is a Navaho word for dwelling.

I

(2) There beneath the sunrise
Standeth his hogan,
The hogan blessed.

(4) Built of dawn's first light
Standeth his hogan,
The hogan blessed.

(5) Built of fair white corn
Standeth his hogan,
The hogan blessed.

(6) Built of broidered robes and hides
Standeth the hogan,
The hogan blessed.

II

(11) There beneath the sunset
Standeth the hogan,
The hogan blessed.

(13) Built of afterglow
Standeth his hogan,
The hogan blessed.

(15) Built of gems and shining shells
Standeth his hogan,
The hogan blessed.

(16) Built of Little-Waters
Standeth his hogan,
The hogan blessed.[162]

Intimately allied to observation and the consequent appeal of sensuous beauty to the imagination is the direct or implied comparison that runs through all Indian poetry, frequently in silver threads of epithet, or again in the more brilliant hues of verbals. For these, we turn again to that admirable old epic of the Delawares:

On the stone-hard water all went,
On the... mussel-bearing sea.[163]

[162] Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, pp. 357- 358.

[163] Brinton, *The Lenâpé and their Legends*, p. 185.

This is the description of a tribal movement over the ice-bound rivers of the north. In the same poem, the roll call of Delaware chiefs is an alluring study in names: Shiverer-with-Cold, Wolf-wise-in-Counsel, Opossum-Like, the Fire-Builder, and so on at some length in a list which incidentally tells of more than imagery—of a knowledge of character and a sense of humor that our first Americans enjoyed.[164]

Direct comparison in personification, metaphor, or simile, is universal. Naturally enough, personification of heavenly bodies, especially of the sun, moon, and morning star, exists among all tribes. Wissler records it in the songs of the Blackfoot Indians;[165] Miss Fletcher adds the Pleiades and the Dawn in the Pawnee ritual of *The Hako*.[166] To be included with these are *The Rainbow Youth*[167] and *Rain-that-Stands*.[168]

Personification of visions[169] and of diseases,[170] differing as they do in poetic imagination, are nevertheless results of the same tendency of thought. So also are the *Corn-Grinding Songs*, in which the corn-ear speaks, and the swallow sings of the coming rain.[171]

These conceptions arise from that fundamental belief of the Indian that all creation lived, moved, and had being, even as he did. If the reader's imagination has been colored in any way by the modern pantheism of Walt Whitman or his disciples, perhaps he can look upon these images as something more than the dreams of a childlike race.

Comparison goes beyond that primitive stage of personification in this Cheyenne song: "Nay, I fear the aching tooth of age!"[172] What poet of the white race would not covet such a figure?

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[164] Brinton, *The Lenâpé and Their Legends*, pp. 187-217.

[165] Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians*, pp. 179, 186-189.

[166] Fletcher, *The Hako*, pp. 123-128, 151-152. See also SPIRIT, above, p. 9.

[167] Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, pp. 431-432.

[168] *Ibid.*, p. 479.

[169] Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-123.

[170] Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians*, p. 159.

[171] Curtis, *op. cit.*, pp. 430-431.

[172] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

Other figures from the Pima songs show varying turns of thought:

WIND SONG[173]

Over the windy mountains,
Came the myriad legged wind.

BEAVER SONG[174]

Strong as the Sun among the trees,
You leave your mark upon them.

Comparison, too, is at the heart of this Zuñi song:

SONG OF THE BLUE CORN DANCE[175]

Beautiful, lo, the summer clouds,
Beautiful, lo, the summer clouds,
Blossoming clouds in the sky,
Like unto shimmering flowers,
Blossoming clouds in the sky,
Onward, lo, they come,
Hither, hither, bound!

For an artistic use of sustained figure, the *Iroquois Book of Rites* is remarkable in carrying through the ceremony the conception of the League as a house builded by early chieftains:

Ye two founded the House...
Then, in later times,
They made additions
To the great mansion.
These were at the doorway, ...
These two guarded the doorway.[176]

This figure in a Chippewa song bears a fair comparison, in its suggestive power, with the figures of modern poetry:

As my eyes search the prairie,
I feel the summer in the spring.[177]

---

[173] Russell, *The Pima Indians*, p. 324. (Comparing the wind with a centipede.)

[174] *Ibid.*, p. 320. See also pp. 228, 282.

[175] Curtis, *The Indians' Book*, p. 432.

[176] Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, pp. 131, 139.

[177] Densmore, *Chippewa Music, II*, p. 254.

With so great a wealth in the imagery of comparison, it seems strange that the Indian singer made so little use of contrast. Where he did use it, his results were no less effective. One good example quoted by Dr. Matthews in the *Night Chant* is the contrast of landscapes at the source and the mouth of a stream.[178] Perhaps this type of imagery requires of the poet a closer analysis than the other. It cannot be thought so happy a gift as that philosophy which notes the affinities and harmonies of life rather than its antitheses.

NOTE: For those who are interested in giving further study to this debated subject, the following list of readings is appended:

Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist*, p. 290. *The Lenâpé and their Legends*, pp. 169-218.

Curtis, *The Indians' Book.*

Fletcher, *The Hako; The Omaha Tribe*, pp. 115-116, 120-121, 124-128, 394, 570, 578.

Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians*, pp. 157-158.

Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, pp. 138-139, 153, 163.

Matthews, *Navaho Myths, Prayers, and Songs; The Night Chant.*

Riggs, *Dakota Songs and Music: Táh-koo Wah-kán*, p. 474.

Russell, *The Pima Indians.*

Wissler, *The Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians.*

VI MUSICAL QUALITY IN VERSE

Quite apart from the structural forms of song-diction is its sound-quality, with power to please the ear or to give tone-color to a poem. Where consciousness of word-beauty enters, poetic art has established itself. It may begin with a refrain of vocables or a repetition of word-groups, but the beauty of sound is there. We may call it *euphony*, but the word can never interpret for us the joy that the Indian singer feels as he repeats, hour after hour, some song-phrase that haunts his memory.

The melody of sounds that carries through the Pima songs, for instance, is largely assonantal, combined with the conson-

[178] Matthews, *The Night Chant*, pp. 153, 245, 289.

ants *i, m, w, v.* A number of open vowel sounds recur in such a series as the following:[179]

u, u, u, a, ai, u, u, u, a, â, ui, ia, u, â, a, a, i, ō, o, ï
i, a, a, û, a, â, ia, u, â, ui, a, a, i, o, o.[180]

If a line seems happily evolved, the singer repeats, as in this instance:

Himovali, movali moko, himovali, movali moko.[181]

The poet finds that words with musical quality are not always common in his language, but he may supplement such words with those which he has altered, with true poetic license, to secure a desired effect. These changes are obtained by elisions, by affixes, or by substitution of sounds.[182] The Indian's liberty to alter words apparently exceeds any license known to the poets of the white race. Dr. Matthews writes: " A word is often distorted in Navaho song so as to become homophonous with a totally different word in prose and thus the student may be led far astray."[183]

In its fulfillment of lyric art, the music of the word must join with the music of voice and instrument. And of this art, the Zuñi are among the masters. Of all their verse, none is lovelier than the *Sunset Song*,[184] sung from their housetops by the people of the village as the sun sinks down the sky:

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[179] Consonants are here omitted for the sake of clearness.

[180] Russell, *The Pima Indians*, p. 272.
See also:
Cushing, *Zuñi Folk Tales*, p. 39;
Fewkes, *The Snake Ceremonials at Walpi*, pp. 100-101;
Voth, *The Oráibi Oáqöl Ceremony*, pp. 13, 17-18, 20, 25, 27-29, 38-39. (A Hopi ceremony.)

[181] Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

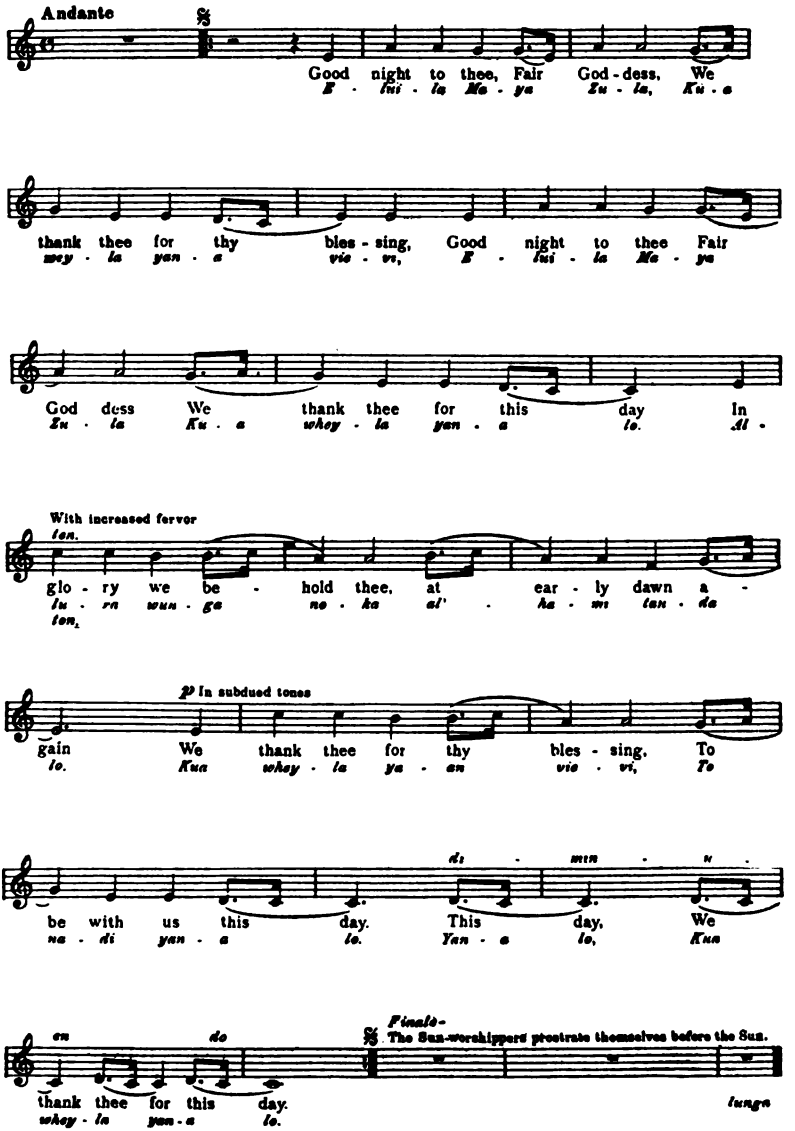
[182] Fletcher, *The Hako*, pp. 38-40, 64, 70, 88-89, 101. (*Hu* for *ha*, in *H'Atira hu weta ariso*, to avoid too many *a's* in the line. P. 61, ll. 172-177.)

[183] Matthews, *The Night Chant*, p. 269.

[184] Arranged by Carlos Troyer in his series, *Traditional Songs of the Zuñi Indians.*

SUNSET SONG

Recorded by Carlos Troyer.



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SUNSET SONG

(Troyer Translation)

Goodnight to thee, Fair Goddess,
We thank thee for thy blessing.
Goodnight to thee, Fair Goddess,
We thank thee for this day.
In glory we behold thee
At early dawn again.
We thank thee for thy blessing,
To be with us this day.
This day,
We thank thee for this day.

Tonality is a further aspect of conscious technique in the poetry of the Indian. Although it occurs in simple forms, these unmistakable tonal patterns are to be found: (1) recurrence of open vowel sounds, already mentioned above under euphony; (2) explosive articulation which suggests action, as in the war songs; (3) liquid, flowing syllables for the quieter feelings and moods; (4) and these last two patterns in combination where the verse suggests recessional movement, as when forceful utterance is followed by milder syllables.[185] In tone-color, as in euphony, the poet employs vocables and alterations when the usual words are insufficient for his purpose. Miss Fletcher has gone so far as to determine the initial consonants of Omaha vocables which express different moods.[186]

Assonantal tone color seems more conspicuous in Indian poetry than in English. It serves a double purpose in that it supplies rhythm as well as beauty, in combination with patterns of repetition.

VII MINOR CHARACTERISTICS

VIGOR

As in any other literature, vigorous expression in Indian verse is a product of the vivid emotional experience of the singer. This life and warm coloring of personal feeling has

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[185] Fletcher, *Indian Story and Song from North America*, p. 107; *A Study of Omaha Indian Music*, pp. 12, 57-61.

[186] Fletcher, *A Study of Omaha Indian Music*, p. 12.

not, however, been dissipated by artificialities of style; hence it has found its outlet in direct thinking and forceful epithet. One of the most widely known illustrations is the *Song of Sitting Bull*:[187]

Earthwide is my fame!
They are shouting my name!
Sing ho! the eagle soul,
Who follows Sitting Bull.

This characteristic is found largely in the shorter songs, though it finds its way, as has been shown earlier in this study, through the longer songs in conciseness, in diction, and in imagery.

ONOMATOPOEIA

Another element blended with the poetic feeling in word-tonality is the desire to reproduce the beauty of sound in the nature world—the clear call of a bird, or the sound of rushing waters. Observe how closely these vocables imitate the song of the wren: "Whe ke re re we chi."[188] There are obvious onomatopoetic phrases in this song of the Cherokees:

TRAVELER'S SONG[189]

Tsûñ' wa' 'ya-ya'
Tsûñ' wa' 'ya-ya'
Tsûñ' wa' 'ya-ya'
Tsûñ' wa' 'ya-ya'
Wa + a! (Imitating wolf howl.)

Tsûñ '-ka' wi-ye'
Tsûñ '-ka' wi-ye'
Tsûñ '-ka' wi-ye'
Tsûñ '-ka' wi-ye'
Sauh! sauh! sauh! sauh! (Imitating call of the deer.)

Tsûñ'-tsu' 'la-ya'
Tsûñ'-tsu' 'la-ya'
Tsûñ'-tsu' 'la-ya'
Tsûñ'-tsu' 'la-ya'
Gaih! gaih! gaih! gaih! (Imitating barking of fox.)

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187 E. S. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, vol. III, p. 149.

188 Fletcher, *The Hako*, pp. 170-171; *Indian Story and Song from North America*, pp. 53-55.

189 Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee*, p. 266. (The words are archaic: "I become—wolf," etc.)

Tsûñ'-si' kwa-ya'
Tsûñ'-si' kwa-ya'
Tsûñ'-si' kwa-ya'
Tsûñ'-si' kwa-ya'
Ki+ (Imitating the cry which the opossum gives when cornered.)

In the *Song of the Locust*[190] the Hopi trills, "Chi ri ri ri ri, chi ri ri ri ri," both as he begins and ends his five line song. Matthews calls attention to a call as an imitation of the dove, which the student may consider a further illustration of onomatopoeia.[191] This element appears to be rather infrequent, but no point eludes the analysis of a foreign reader more than this one.

PARALLELISM

Parallelism occurs less frequently than one might expect, should all forms of exact verbal repetition be excluded from the discussion. Since it does appear in the songs of widely separated tribes, it has a place among the general characteristics of Indian poetry. There is an aesthetic element in this feeling for the symmetry of balanced structure. Many instances point to the conclusion that thought- and structure-parallels occur together. Occasionally, the motive is contrast.

This Onondaga hymn,[192] hundreds of years old, is one of the best illustrations of this phase of style:

Haihhaih!	Woe! Woe!
Jiyathontek!	Harken ye!
Niyonkha!	We are diminished!
Haihhaih!	Woe! Woe!
Tejoskawayenton.	The cleared land has become a thicket.
Haihhaih!	Woe! Woe!
Skahentahenyon.	The clear places are deserted.
Hai!	Woe!
Shatyherarta—	They are in their graves—

[190] Voth, *Traditions of the Hopi*, p. 181.
[191] *Navaho Gambling Songs*, *Amer. Anthr.*, vol. II, (Jan. 1889), p. 19.
[192] Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, pp. 153-154.

Hotyiwisahongwe—	They who established it—
Hai!	Woe!
Kayaneengoha	The great League.
Netikenen honen	Yet they declared
Nene Kenyoiwatatye—	It should endure—
Kayaneengowane—	The great League.
Hai!	Woe!
Wakaiwakayonneha.	Their work has grown old.
Hai!	Woe!
Netho watyongwen-tenthe.	Thus we are become miserable.

Unfortunately the interpreter gives the Wyandot song, "The Stars Dehn-dek and Mah-oh-rah"[193] in English only. It is not possible, therefore, to compare the parallelism in the following stanza with that in the original:

> They go into the sky!
> From that land are we cast down forever!
> And another land is made for us.
> Let them be made stars.
> Now shall they be stars to shine forever there.
> And their journey shall never cease!

The songs of the Pima make some use of this structural form. In the *Rain Song II*,[194] an alternation of two-line pictures gives contrast in parallel form through the eight lines of the song.

With rhythm so highly developed in Indian verse, it is difficult to understand why parallels did not become more universally the instruments of this quality, marking, as they distinctly do, the forward and recessional movements of poetic feeling. It may be that the varied patterns of repetition served the poet's end.

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[193] C. M. Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, pp. 318-321, quoting W. E. Connelley from the *Ontario Archaeological Report*, 1905, pp. 68-70.

[194] Russell, *The Pima Indians*, pp. 332-333.

SUMMARY

1. On the formal side, three factors are outstanding in Indian verse:
   a. Brilliant execution of other repetitional forms instead of a general use of rhyme as an aid to rhythm.
   b. Extensive use of sense imagery and the imagery of comparison.
   c. Extreme economy of expression.
2. Minor qualities of Indian verse are humor, pathos, satire. The predominantly intellectual quality is largely lacking.
3. The characteristic qualities are imaginative, aesthetic, and emotional in type. Their aspects are concreteness, rhythm, beauty, compactness, sincerity. The last aspect is a notable expression of the great religious motive which is dominant in all forms of Indian verse.

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